DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 114 874 CS 501 160

AUTHOR	Casmir, Fred L., Ed.
TITLE	International and Intercultural Communication Annual. Volume 1.
INSTITUTION	Speech Communication Association, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Dec 74
NOTE	168p.
AVAILABLE FROM	The Speech Communication Association, 5205 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church, Virginia 22041 ($3.00 member, $3.50 nonmember)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC-$8.24 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	Anthropology; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Communications; Communication Satellites; *Culture Contact; Films; *Intercommunication; *Interpersonal Relationship; Literature Reviews; *Speech
IDENTIFIERS	*International Communication

ABSTRACT

This first volume of "International and Intercultural Communication Annual" contains 13 articles and a special committee project outline. Among the articles included are: "Adapting Communications Research to the Needs of International and Intercultural Communications" by Lorand B. Szaley; "Subjective Culture and Interpersonal Communication and Action" by Harry C. Triandis; "An Explication and Evaluation of Cognitive Anthropology" by Jerry L. Burk; "Increasing Intercultural Communication: The PEACESAT Experiment, A Study in the Social Benefits of International Interactive Exchange by Communication Satellite" by John Bystrom; "The Communication of Culture through Film: Focus for Research" by Sharon K. Ruhly; "Cross Cultural Communications Training for Mental Health Professionals" by Paul Pederson; "Dimensions, Perspectives and Resources of Intercultural Communication" by Vernon Lynn Tyler; "Some Empirical Considerations for Cross-Cultural Attitude Measurements and Persuasive Communications" by Janice C. Hepworth; and "A Critical Review of Recent Literature" by William J. Starosta. A directory of organizations concerned with international/intercultural communication study, teaching, research, practice, and sponsorship is also included. (TS)

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INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL

Published by The Speech Communication Association (SCA)
and its Commission on International and Intercultural Communication

Volume I, December 1974

CS 501 760

THE INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL

founded 1974

Volume I December 1974

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EDITOR'S NOTES

This is not a new venture, as much as any founding editor may wish to make such a claim to establish his own status. It is in effect a very old venture when viewed against the total human experience of studying, and reporting our insights, efforts, and concerns. However, it is just as vital to point to the hopes and aspirations of a group of people who have envisioned this publication for some time, because they wanted to bring together some old and some new ideas within a new setting, within a new framework, to assist all of us in our attempts to gain some new insights.

More than that, maybe this new beginning of an old venture will make it possible to avoid some old mistakes, as this editor sees them. This is not merely to be a publication which caters to those who need to boost their own egos, or follow their society's demand to "publish or perish." Such lofty hopes may neither be born out in this issue nor in those to come, but in effect this publication is dedicated to doing more than considering as scholarship or an important contribution, the mere reorganization, or restructuring of others' thoughts, followed by appropriate footnotes.

It may be time to challenge fundamental concepts. It may be time to ask within the framework of intercultural and international settings if our new sacred cows, our 20th Century "mysticism" and "superstition" (possibly centering around our elevation of science to a quasi religious level), need to be challenged. Maybe it is time to ask first how we see Man and his world, and then to understand why we almost necessarily reach our conclusions, in spite of the illusion of objectivity, which may be dictated by our cultures, societies, instruments, methodologies and languages. Certainly within the pages of this publication a new scientific or Western ethnocentrism can be meaningfully fought which otherwise could cause us to take the standards of Western culture as the basis for our discoveries of other human beings as they compare, favorably or unfavorably to our own way of perceiving. The fact that this is a "shrinking" world has been mentioned so often that it would be meaningless to delve into a discussion of it once more. What may not be as obvious, is our search for commonalities, for common experiences, for common perceptions to make our human interaction possible, meaningful, happy, more satisfying. Certainly our world is threatened, or at least challenged, by a great many dangerous factors. But if communication scholars have learned anything it is the concept that mere presentation of facts, mere discussion of the issues does not solve our problems.

Maybe it is time to state first what our premises are, before we discuss our results. Maybe it is time to honestly confess our own preconceived ideas before we cloak results in scientific jargon. Maybe it is time to ask if all of Man's acts are not first of all based on the concept that he needs to control his environment, keep it in balance, feel safe, and at the same time carry out his efforts, work and thought in such a way as to enable him to grow, to feel needed, wanted, to feel as if he is contributing and growing as an individual.

In any case, authors will be encouraged by this publisher to do more than follow the established patterns -- as much time as that may take. Authors will be encouraged to think about more than communication as an academic discipline, but rather about human beings. Authors will be encouraged to avoid an overriding concern with the pressing needs of the moment when we also need to address ourselves to the future and the past.

All this sounds ambitious, I am sure. How much of it can be carried out within the framework of what we consider today to be a "quality" scholarly publication, I have no way of knowing at this point. However, if a certain spirit of rebellion seems to ring out in these words, I hope the reader will either excuse it or modify his perception in the way this writer intended his statements. I merely wish to avoid the illusion that something significant will be accomplished by us when we re-invent the wheel all over again for the thousandth time. It appears to be a time to synthesize, think, meditate, evaluate, and then to move on with methods perhaps yet undeveloped or undiscovered, rather than to be shackled by the fetishes of a yesterday which many of us fear to leave behind.

My thanks to the members of the Commission on International and Intercultural Communication for their advice, their help, their concern with producing a meaningful, scholarly publication. My thanks to the executive members of our national organization, the Speech Communication Association, for having the vision to let a special kind of dream become a reality. And my very special thanks to Pepperdine University and its administrators, who allowed me, through financial support, their understanding, and personal help to make the INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL possible. And finally my thanks to assistant editors, reader-evaluators, and my assistant for staying with me during the weeks and months of following what was truly a new road for us, with all the experiences, frustrations, and satisfactions which come from undertaking a venture that was, and in some ways always will be, "new" to those involved.

Fred L. Casmir
Editor

This first volume of the ANNUAL was conceived largely through the efforts of its editor, Fred Casmir of Pepperdine University. Through his efforts as a commissioner of the SCA's Commission for International and Intercultural Communication (CIIC) and with the encouragement and consent of that Commission which was chaired until 1974 by Michael Prosser, this ANNUAL was developed.

The study of communication in situations which have international and/or intercultural ramifications is probably not receiving the attention that is justified by the nature of our profession. Our relative provincialism is almost paradoxical in a time when nations and cultures frequently encounter each other in "peaceful" conflicts which cry out for solution via communication. The single fact that our world's wars are now mostly "skirmishes" suggests that suitable alternatives to war may have been found, or that major communication problems may have been solved, or, perhaps that we are just lucky. I do not fully accept any one of those suggestions, but, we do not really know. I hope that this publication will encourage more SCA members to help us find out.

Ken Hadwiger
Chairman
CIIC

This issue of the ANNUAL was made possible in part through a grant from Pepperdine University-Malibu.

Editor

Fred L. Casmir
Communication Division
Pepperdine University
Malibu, California 90265

Assistant Editors

Corrine Fleming
Organizations
California State University
California, Pennsylvania

William Starosta
Print and Non-Print Media
University of Virginia
One Dawson's Row
Charlottesville, Virginia

Assistant to the Editor

JM Womack
Communication Division
Pepperdine University
Malibu, California 90265

Reader Evaluators

Laray Barna
Moyne Cubbage
Edmund Glenn
Michael Prosser

(Members of the SCA Commission
On International and Intercultural
Communication.)

Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor or Assistant Editor of the area which it concerns.

ADAPTING COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TO THE NEEDS OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS

Lorand B. Szalay

The question of how communication research, which has been developed in the context of domestic mass communication, will meet the needs of international and intercultural communications has been discussed in the past by numerous authors.[1] The present paper examines the information needs posed by intercultural communication tasks by emphasizing the requirements posed by the very nature of the communication process.

It is fairly common to perceive intercultural communications as a variety of domestic communication merely extended beyond national and cultural boundaries. By this same logic, it appears possible to meet the information needs of intercultural communications by simply applying domestic communication research techniques to the study of overseas audiences. More specifically, this logic implies that by doing the same type of communication research abroad as we have done at home, we can obtain the information necessary for more effective international relations and communications.

This logic represents a dangerous fallacy. First, it is likely to produce extensive very specific data often loaded with cultural biases, lacking the depth and insights indispensible for international relations and communications. We may have impressive data showing how Coca Cola sells in Uganda and what the polls show on the popularity of Nixon and McGovern in Kenya, without learning much about the critical characteristics of the populations. The rationale of using the same techniques in domestic and intercultural situations is supported by such factors as professional interests, institutional inertia, and cultural egocentrism, and it is bound to reinforce cultural myopia.

The primary objective of communication research is to provide capabilities and information for conducting effective communications. Research that is culturally insensitive is bound to paralyze genuine intercultural communications.

Domestic versus Intercultural Communications

Margaret Mead, in her book, The Communication of Ideas, calls attention to a particular type of problem that emerges "when cultural boundaries have to be transcended."[2] Hartley and Hartley analyzed these barriers psychologically. They emphasize that communication exists only in units of personal experience and that effective communication between two people or two groups of people is possible only to the extent of their common experience. They conclude: "In considering the effects on communication of profound differences in levels of experience, we must take into account the way in which the whole pattern of culture develops certain values and concepts which have validity within the framework of that particular culture. The operation of this cultural patterning is sometimes so pervasive and basic to the thinking of people who have not experienced any other that they cannot understand a communique if is postulated on a different set of norms."[3]

While transcending cultural boundaries does not necessarily involve technical difficulties, the comparison outlined in Table 1 indicates that, from a psychological angle, intercultural communication creates a number of new problems.

Differences in language and in cultural experiences are obvious situational characteristics peculiar to intercultural communication efforts. Easy recognition of these differences, however, does not imply a similar ease in finding appropriate measures to overcome them. An important difference in the communication process may be observed by comparing the basically automatic routine character of common (intracultural) communication with the elaborate planning requirements of intercultural communication.

In intracultural communication, the native speaker uses his own frame of reference in formulating his message. What he says and how he says it are a matter of automatic routine. In intercultural communication we cannot automatically assume that our partner or audience has the same concepts, beliefs, and values as we do. If we work under such assumptions, we are bound to make numerous mistakes and will have little chance to relate meaningfully to our partner. In such a situation, instead of spontaneously formulating our thoughts, we must learn to relate to our partner in terms of his frame of reference. To be effective, communication has to be adapted to the cultural background and experiences of our partner or audience. This adaptation is a fundamental requirement that lies at the very core of the intercultural communication process. For domestic communication research, this requirement is less global and less articulate because it deals with domestic audiences and with highly specific problems.

TABLE I
DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATION SITUATIONS

Variables	Domestic Communication	Intercultural Communication
Situational characteristics	Sharing common code, language, values, frame of reference	Obvious differences in code, language, customs Not so obvious differences in experiences, meanings, values, frames of reference
Process, principles of	Illusions of the a. Universality of common sense "What makes sense to me makes sense to you." b. Automatic nature of the process "What I say can and should be automatically understood." c. Spontaneity Communication can function as a form of spontaneous self expression	Cultural relativism, pluralism Communication requires a systematic bridging of differences. It requires: a. Cultural self awareness b. A knowledge of the audience's culture c. A systematic adaptation to the audience's cultural frame of reference using its code system or language.
The dominant model	Mechanical analogies based communication models: focused on transmitting, conveying, getting something across.	Psychological Process based communication models focused on the requirement of isomorphic stimulation.

Paul Lazarsfeld makes the point that in addition to being mainly oriented to mass media, communication research specializes in two categories: commercial communications and political communications.[4] The commercial category involves primarily advertisement and elements of market research. The election polls and public opinion surveys may be considered as representative of the political category.

The analytic categories and indicators in domestic communication research produce information relevant to the specialized interest of particular sponsors (e.g., attitude toward particular products, appeal value of packaging, preferences for various political candidates). The focus is on specific categories of behavior (buying, voting) that may be critical from the angle of the research interest but are often irrelevant from the angle of the people involved.

In focusing on methodology and data related to these particular problem areas, domestic communication research produces information that cannot be readily integrated to provide an overall understanding of the people — themselves — that is, in terms of their general psychocultural characteristics, perceptions, values, and beliefs.

Furthermore, domestic communication research for the most part is guided by economic, political, and scientific interests, which with few exceptions, are highly culture specific. Accordingly, the information gained by this type of research is of questionable relevance to people who do not live in affluent consumer societies, who do not subscribe to capitalism or the profit motive, whose political life is not organized around Western democractic principles, and who are more concerned with survival than problems produced by abundance of competing goods. The very concept of intercultural communication calls for a communication research which allows us to adapt our communication to the logic of other people instead of imposing our own priorities and values on them.

Information Needs Specific to Intercultural Communication and Interaction

This adaptation is a delicate and demanding task which creates a host of methodological and research requirements, but the central idea is the analysis of the partner's or audience's subjective culture in terms of its own salient priorities. A few of these requirements are outlined in Table 2. Because of lack of space, this table does not include the areas of communication research dealing with media, social channels, flow of information, persuasion and attitude change, but focuses on audience analysis, which is probably the core problem area in intercultural communications. It draws a parallel comparison between the needs of domestic communication research and intercultural communication research. In the case of intercultural emphasis, the communications must be systematically adapted to the frame of reference of the foreign partner or audience, his subjective culture, as this concept has been defined by Triandis.[5]

With some simplification the requirements of intercultural communication research may be contrasted with the classical approach in domestic communication research that focuses on attitude measurement. It is my impression that our heavy reliance on attitudes and attitude measurement is influenced by our culture, more specifically, by our social norms and political philosophies. Although attitudes are certainly variables of unquestionable importance, I am inclined to conclude that in dealing with foreign cultures in simple terms of direction (positive - negative) and intensity (slightly, moderately, strongly), they are ambiguous pieces of information if we are not familiar with other (cognitive-perceptual) dimensions. For example, how can we interpret a "moderately favorable" attitude toward socialism if we are uncertain whether socialism refers to the Soviet Communist type system or the Swedish democratic type.

TABLE 2
COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Research Areas	Domestic Communication (actual)	Intercultural Communication (desirable)
Self-Awareness (cultural)		Assessment of the salient characteristics of the culture. The cultural image.
Audience Analysis		
Context	Research initiated by specific interests (commercial, political)	Broad concern with understanding people in their own terms in their subjective universe.
Focus	Interest in single reactions, particular categories of behavior (choice) in terms of alternatives relevant to the researcher (or sponsor)	Assessment of the cultural frame of reference in terms of critical variables: perceptions, meanings, values.
Approach	Attitude research, opinion surveys	Analysis of subjective culture. An indepth analysis focusing on domains and themes that are culturally dominant.

A communicator facing home audiences will generally know the major current alternative perceptions of a problem. For instance, he will be familiar with the characteristic racist or liberal views on racial integration, *i.e.*, the main alternative sets of perceptions, beliefs, and frames of reference held by people in his environment. Facing a particular group, the communicator may not know which alternative belief syndrome prevails, but attitude data will give him the cue to determine it.

In dealing with foreign groups the cue value of attitude data will be more limited unless the communicator acquires a basic familiarity with culture-specific perceptions, beliefs, and frames of reference characteristic of the audience. Atthe present time, however, attitude data are frequently the only available data on foreign groups and they are mainly used not as a complement to but as a substitute for basic psychocultural data. Simply learning about positive-negative evaluations is not enough for understanding peoples in a foreign culture.

The observations made about attitude research apply to a considerable extent to opinion research as well. Public opinion research does ask more specific questions like – Who is your preferred candidate? Do you agree with the President's Vietnam policy? – but the evaluation of such questions generally tends toward translation into simple attitudinal terms. Nonetheless, the opinion research has the potential to capture a great deal of useful perceptual information. It raises several other methodological problems in overseas utilization, which go beyond the intended scope of the present paper.

Attitudinal and Cognitive Dimensions of the Cultural Frame of Reference

In the following, I will illustrate a type of perceptual, psychocultural information that goes beyond the scope of customary attitude and opinion research and provides useful data for understanding other cultures.

The data come from comparative studies of U.S., Korean, and Slovenian student (N=50) groups. The method used was Associate Group Analysis, a method relying on the analysis of free verbal associations. This unstructured method provides a valid sensitive measure of cultural perceptions, meanings, value orientations, subjective culture, and psychocultural distance.[6]

The graph on the following page shows the three groups' interpretations of the selected themes. By their length the bars show the salience of the meaning components. The percentage expressed for particular meaning component is based on the score value derived by a summation of the scores of responses in that component. The score value of a particular response is a function of the number of people who gave this response and of the rank place in which the response was given in the continued association task. The following weighting scores have been empirically obtained for various rank places:

Rank place	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	. . . . . .
Score	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	. . . . . .

The total scores obtained by each group on a particular theme are shown at the bottom of each graph.

As the graph shows, the concept of POLITICS is understood quite differently by the three groups compared. For Americans POLITICS is primarily a domestic issue, which involves the role of PARTIES, ELECTIONS and the GOVERNMENT, ADMINISTRATION, more specifically, the PRESIDENT.

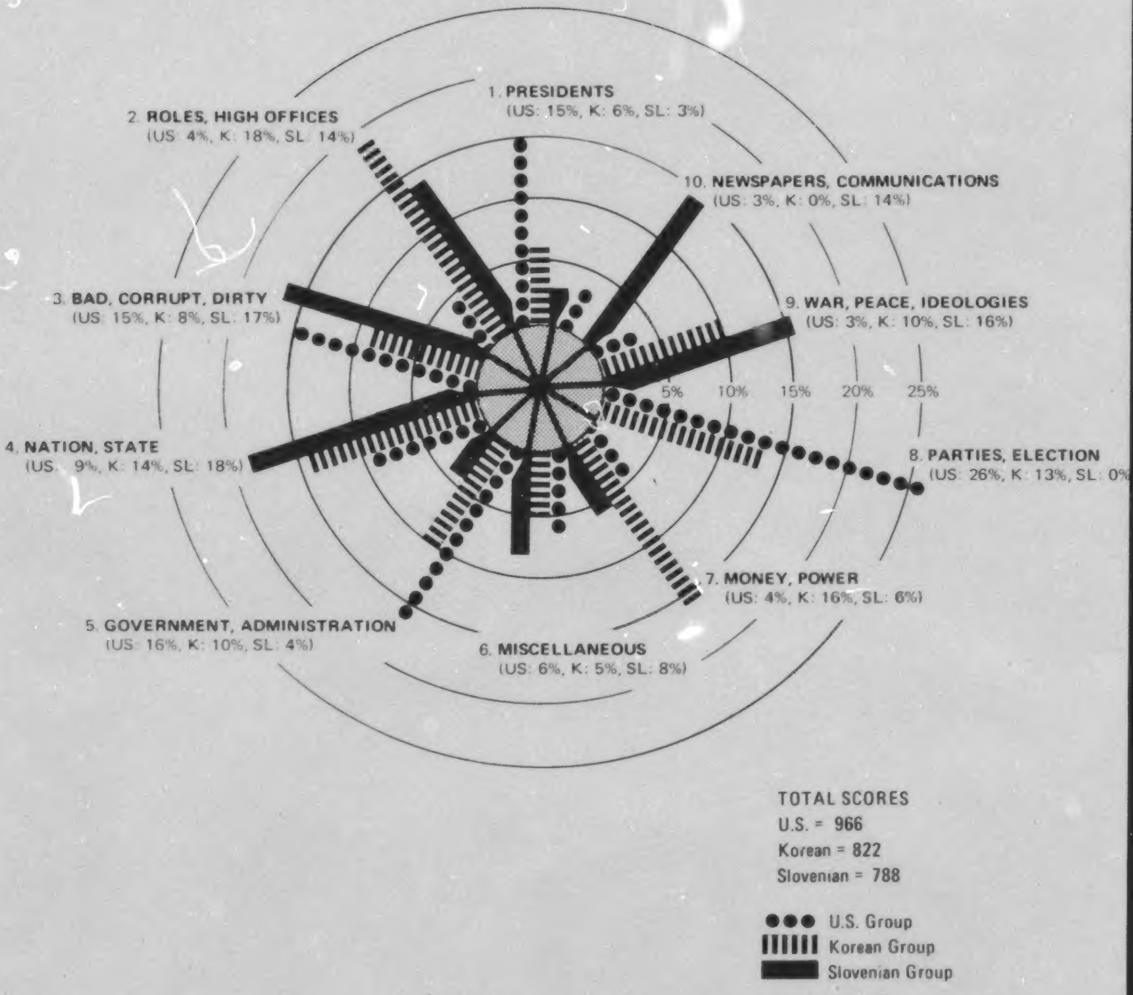
For Koreans, POLITICS is apparently less a matter of "party politics," but more a matter of POWER at the NATIONAL level, as represented by people in HIGH OFFICES, ROLES. Substantively, the concern is with more abstract, large-scale issues such as IDEOLOGY, WAR, and PEACE.

The Slovenians do not think of PARTIES or ELECTIONS at all; for them POLITICS is primarily a matter of the STATE, a permanent power structure represented by HIGH OFFICES, ROLES. As with the Korean groups, higher order considerations of WAR, PEACE, and IDEOLOGIES show high salience.

While these groups show quite different conceptualizations of what POLITICS means to them, they all express a generally negative attitude toward POLITICS. The rationale behind these negative evaluations appears to be quite different, however, as shown in the following table of specific responses given by the three groups.

POLITICS

U.S., Korean, and Slovenian Components



TOTAL SCORES
U.S. = 966
Korean = 822
Slovenian = 788

GOVERNMENT

U.S., Korean, and Slovenian Components

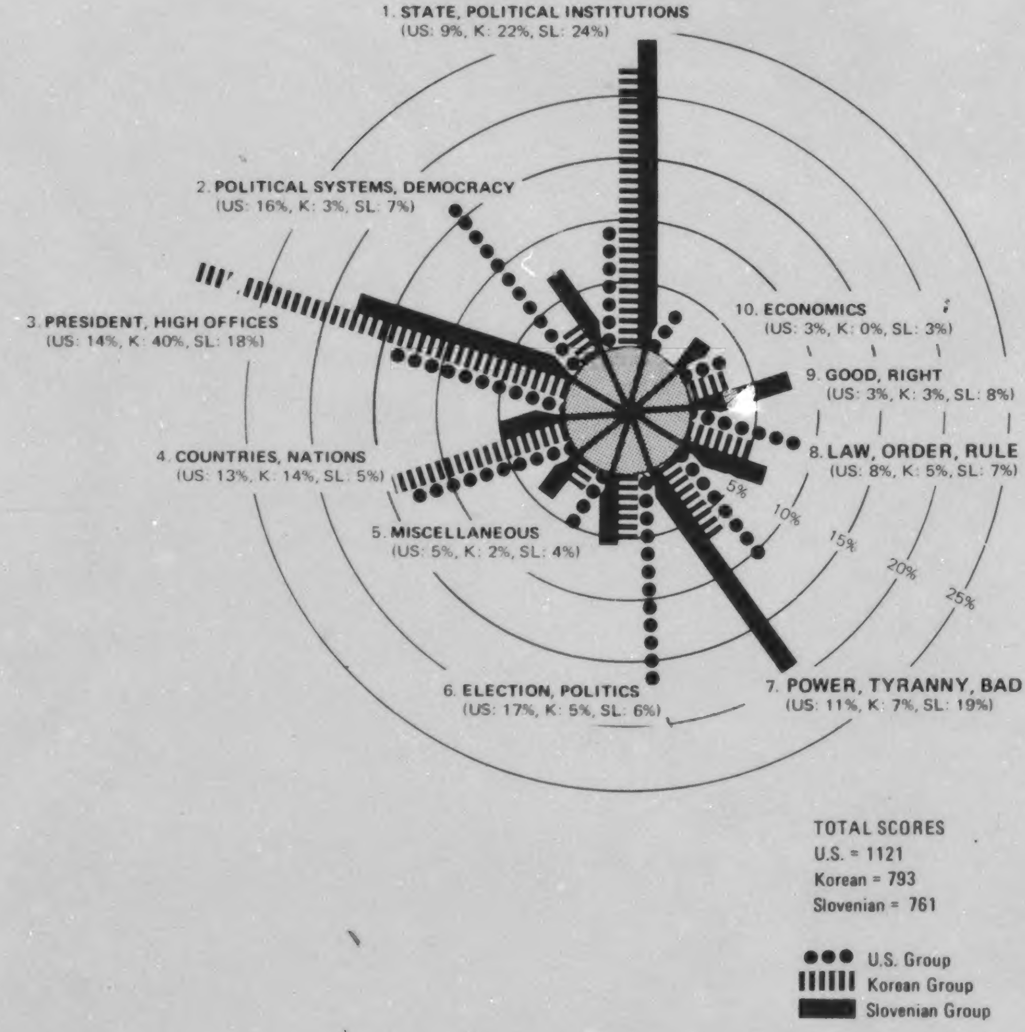


TABLE 3
MEANING COMPONENT: BAD, CORRUPT, DIRTY OF THEME POLITICS

Responses	U.S.	Korean	Slovenian
corruption	29	26	0
factions(K), plots(K), connive (US) favors(US), intrigue(SI)	7	18	6
headache, irregularities	0	19	0
dirty	22	0	37
bad(US, SI), evil(US), hate(US), cop out(US)	36	0	13
fake, unfair, cheat, dishonest, lies	37	0	0
unpleasant(SI), ugly (SI), stink (US) bullshit(US)	19	0	21
danger, disaster, hostility exploitation	0	0	31
hypocrisy, weakness, tortuosity, nonsense	0	0	33
Totals	150	63	141

The U.S. and Slovenian group show strong generalized negative evaluations. The Koreans show a more distinct concern with corruption and factionalism. The U.S. accent is on the immoral, unethical nature of POLITICS, while the Slovenians view it additionally as dangerous and nonsensical.

Again, the three groups apparently have quite different images in mind when thinking of GOVERNMENT. For the U.S. group, it is a POLITICAL INSTITUTION founded primarily on ELECTIONS. Americans see GOVERNMENT as a function of POLITICAL SYSTEMS, such as democracy or communism. They express distinct concern with the POWER of the GOVERNMENT. They express considerable ambivalence in their attitude toward the GOVERNMENT.

For the Koreans GOVERNMENT means primarily HIGH OFFICES, more specifically, the PRESIDENT. Among POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, in addition to the executive, the legislative branch receives considerable interest. Koreans also make emphatic references to POWER accompanied by relatively few expressions of negative attitudes. For the GOVERNMENT involves primarily the representation of the NATION.

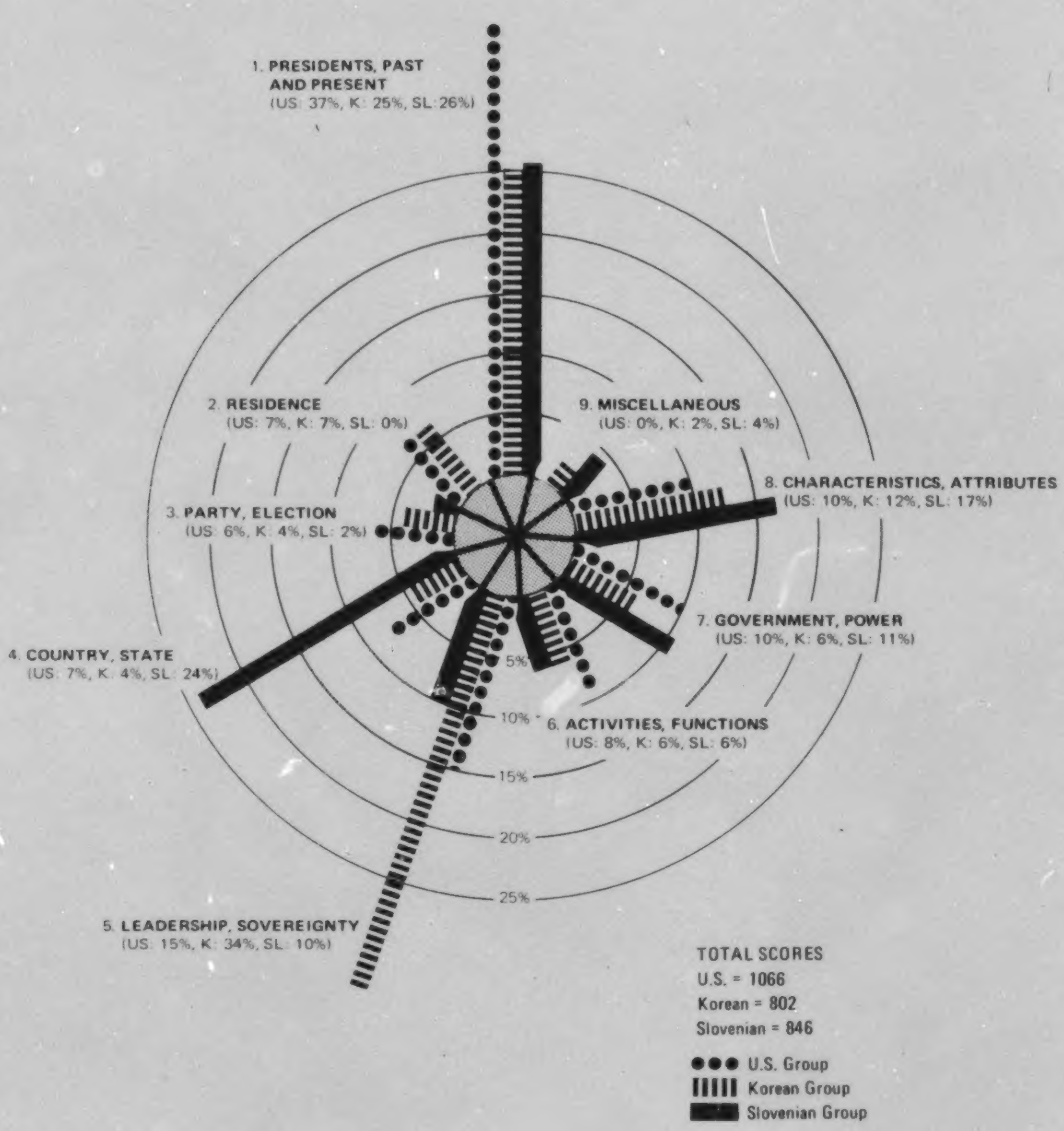
For the Slovenians, GOVERNMENT means primarily the STATE, a permanent political structure. Among the representative HIGH OFFICES, president, Tito, and king are mentioned. The low score in the COUNTRY, NATION component leaves little doubt that, while for Americans and Koreans GOVERNMENT involves a high degree of national identification, for Slovenians this may be true to a much lesser extent. Their attitudes are expressed by references to POWER, TYRANNY, BAD, with emphasis on oppression and exploitation.

TABLE 4
MEANING COMPONENT: POWER, TYRANNY, BAD OF THEME GOVERNMENT

Responses	U.S.	Korean	Slovenian
war(US, SI), defense(K)	13	7	11
fight(US), struggle(K), riots(SI)	8	16	8
power,-ful, strong(US), control(US)	30	21	11
dictator(US, SI), tyranny(SI)	12	0	24
corruption(US), exploitation(SI)	13	0	15
lying	0	0	17
injustice(K), unfair(US), bad(US, SI)	14	8	18
terror, fear	0	0	18
death	0	0	8
fall	0	0	13
bureaucracy, red tape	19	0	0
fools	9	0	0
Totals	118	52	143

PRESIDENT

U.S., Korean, and Slovenian Components



The U.S. image of the **PRESIDENT** is heavily influenced by personalities, memories of **PRESIDENTS, PAST AND PRESENT**, particularly Richard Nixon. As the most salient attribute, **LEADERSHIP** is emphasized in close relationship to **GOVERNMENT** and **POWER**. The **ATTRIBUTES** mentioned convey probably more negative than positive feelings.

For the Koreans, the image of the **PRESIDENT** includes **SOVEREIGNTY** as most salient component. The **CHARACTERISTICS, ATTRIBUTES** mentioned — authority, responsibility, respect — indicate that for Koreans the **PRESIDENT** is not just another human being, but the representative, the symbol of the nation in a form reminiscent of a traditional monarch. The institution is relatively new in Korea and Koreans have especially two domestic representatives in mind — Park and Rhee.

The most salient single representative of the **PRESIDENT** for Slovenians is naturally Tito, the first and only President of Yugoslavia. They see him in close relationship with the Yugoslav **STATE** and view him in terms of **CHARACTERISTICS, ATTRIBUTES** that express a mixture of both positive and negative attitudes.

A comparative presentation of responses in the category **LEADERSHIP, SOVEREIGNTY** may be illustrative.

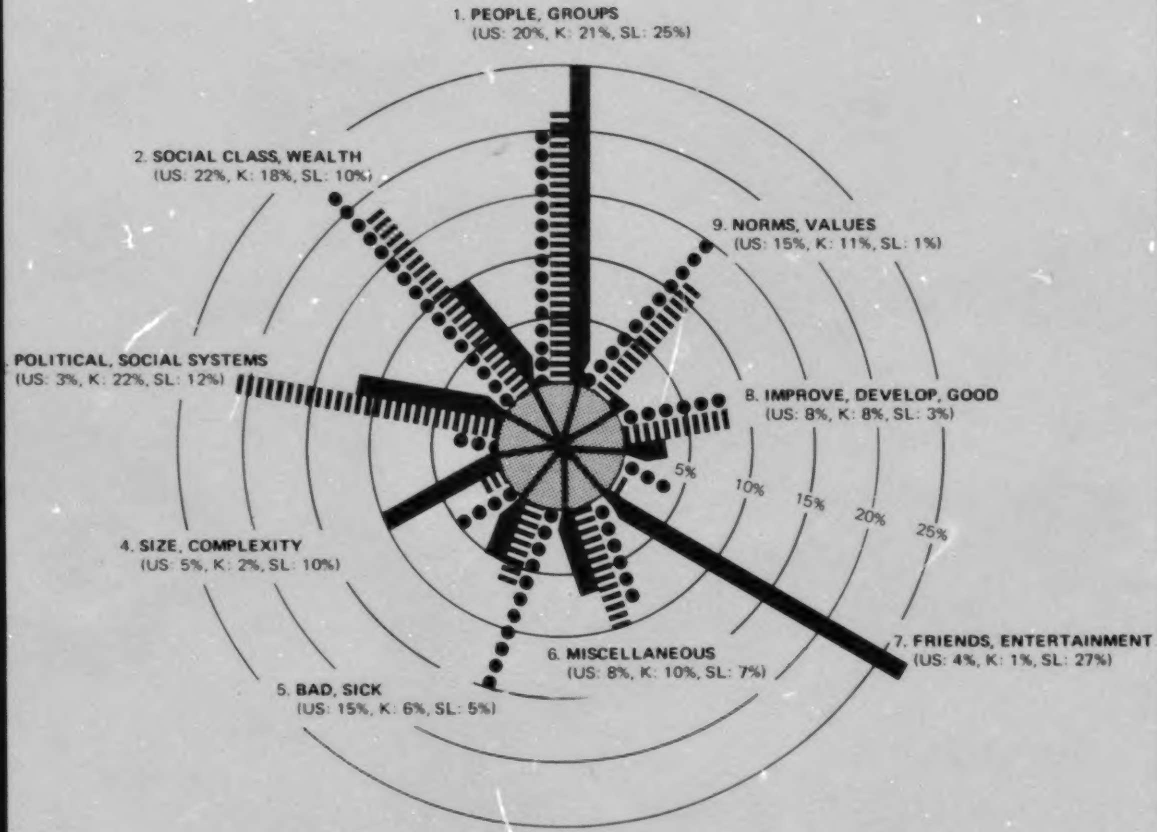
TABLE 5

MEANING COMPONENT: LEADERSHIP, SOVEREIGNTY OF THEME PRESIDENT

Responses	U.S.	Korean	Slovenian
sovereign, -of nation	0	91	0
head	13	9	0
high, -est	0	35	0
ruler	13	0	0
leader, -ship	34	10	33
chief, commander	36	22	0
excellency	0	22	0
prime minister	0	12	0
vice president	15	0	6
represent, -ative, -ing	6	62	0
spokesman	0	10	0
diplomat	0	0	7
executive	6	12	0
politician	9	6	15
guardian	0	0	7
man	11	0	13
office	15	0	0
Totals	164	291	81

SOCIETY

U.S., Korean, and Slovenian Components



TOTAL SCORES
U.S. = 857
Korean = 743
Slovenian = 725

●●● U.S. Group
IIIIII Korean Group
▬ Slovenian Group

All three groups agree in viewing SOCIETY as an aggregate of PEOPLE, GROUPS, a large collective. They look, however, at this aggregate of people quite differently.

The perspective of the U.S. group appears to be primarily societal, moral. The class structure, especially differences in SOCIAL CLASS and WEALTH, is especially salient. Furthermore, they emphasize the role of NORMS, VALUES like morality and law, and contrasting with these positive standards, they make critical comments: BAD, SICK.

The Korean perspective is more political and ideological. SOCIETY is viewed primarily as a POLITICAL SYSTEM which may be democratic or Communist, implying different social and political structures. For Koreans also the SOCIAL CLASS structure emerges as important. References to IMPROVEMENT, DEVELOPMENT suggest a certain optimism.

For the Slovenian group SOCIETY has apparently two main referents. One is the large collective involving a POLITICAL SOCIAL SYSTEM, and in this context socialism emerges as the central idea. As a social referent, SOCIETY is used to refer to FRIENDS, ENTERTAINMENT.

One component of meaning which we may want to look at closer involves negative evaluation: BAD, SICK.

TABLE 6
MEANING COMPONENT: BAD, SICK OF THEME SOCIETY

Responses	U.S.	Korean	Slovenians
unfair(US), corrupt(SI), exploitation(SI))	6	0	26
cruel, rat race, hurts, restricts	30	0	0
stupid, messed up	18	0	0
evil, wrong, bad, sick	72	0	0
loneliness(SI), darkness(K), fear(K), trouble(K)	0	25	8
disorder, crime, oppression	0	29	0
Totals	126	44	34

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*The above comparisons are somewhat complicated and blurred by the fact that the Koreans and Slovenians received the general concept SOCIETY, while the U.S. received the more specific stimulus U.S. SOCIETY.

AN OVERVIEW

The attitudes and evaluations that emerged in the context of these four themes undoubtedly represent an important part of their total meanings, but they were not always the most salient components, especially not for the non-American groups. Some consistent trends can be observed across the themes. For example, the U.S. groups emphasized elections and political parties; the Korean tended to emphasize political ideology, high offices, and the nation; and the Slovenian thinking seemed to center around the concept of the state, with practically no mention of elections or political parties.

These overall trends represent important audience characteristics. If certain fundamental differences in the cultural interpretation of certain concepts – such as the different role assigned to the **PRESIDENT** by these three groups – are ignored, the attitudinal data may become ambiguous indeed. We must not overlook the distinct possibility that in the United States, a country of relative abundance and free choice, the problems of subjective liking or disliking may play a greater role than in traditional societies. For them politics is more a type of collective national identification, a concern with national prestige (Korea), a struggle in a multi-national environment (Slovenian) than a series of choices among numerous alternatives.

I am not suggesting to draw wide generalizations from the small body of data presented here. Nonetheless, I do recommend a closer examination of some of our rarely questioned assumptions that determine our research priorities. My point is, if our communication research is culturally biased and therefore handicapped, our intercultural communication efforts have little chance to fare much better.

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SUBJECTIVE CULTURE AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION AND ACTION

Harry C. Triandis

The focus of the present paper will be on interpersonal relations, including communication between two people who belong to different cultures. First we will provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the phenomena associated with interpersonal interaction across culture. Then we will make some comments about the methodology of studies which explore the relationships among the concepts of the theoretical framework. In doing so, we will give examples from studies done in different countries. Finally, we will ask how the information obtained from such studies can be used to improve the accuracy of interpersonal communication and the effectiveness of intercultural behavior.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A major problem in interpersonal relationships across cultures is the difference in the attributions of social behavior between the two persons interacting across cultures. When two persons, P and O, interact, P's conceptions of the causes of O's behavior and O's conceptions of the causes of his own behavior are frequently different. This is true even when the behavior involves people from the same culture.[1] Differences in attribution become even more serious when people belong to different cultures. This is because a person from one culture may ignore the way of thinking about social relationships which is typical of persons in another culture. For example, the attributions that P makes may be uncomplimentary concerning O's behavior, while O's behavior may be due to norms of appropriate behavior of O's culture. One way to improve interpersonal relationships is to make the attributions that a person P makes concerning the behavior of O similar to the attributions that O makes about his own behavior.

This principle can be generalized to any interpersonal communication. The meaning of a communication depends on not only its denotative aspects but also on its connotative. For example, if CHAIR has the same denotative meaning in two cultures, but in one culture it is strongly associated with "armchair" and in the other "electric chair," the affective response to a communication using this word will typically be different. In order to improve interpersonal communications we need to explicate not only the differences in the way the pie of experience is cut in different cultures[2], but also the connotations and implications of the categories such as might be obtained through a semantic differential[3], word association technique[4], or implicative meaning technique.[5]

In order to obtain the information needed to improve interpersonal communication and effective interpersonal interaction across cultures, we need to study the subjective cultures of people who come from the same cultural background as the two persons, P and O, mentioned above. Culture is defined here as the man-made part of the human environment.[6] Subjective culture is the subjective reaction to the man-made part of the human environment which is typically found among members of a cultural group. A cultural group here is defined very narrowly as people who utilize a mutually understandable dialect and are in face-to-face contact with each other. It is an empirical question whether there are sufficient homogeneities in the subjective culture of people who are not in face-to-face contact to consider them as having the same subjective culture.

The strategy for the analysis of subjective culture consists of development of several types of different instruments tapping responses to the perceived aspects of the social environment of individuals. This includes the study of social norms, roles, the self concept, affect towards important concepts, perceived consequences of actions, and values.

Since these terms are not useful as predictors of behavior until they are related through some sort of model to behavior, work has been done to develop models which will provide such prediction.[7] [8] Briefly, behavior is seen as a function of established habits and intentions. Habits depend on the frequency and intensity of previous rewards associated with the behavior. Habits control "automatic" (non-conscious) behavior. Intentions concern the individual's conscious plan to carry out some action. The prediction of behavior is a complex function of habits and intentions which depends on (a) the type of individual, (b) the type of behavior, and (c) the type of setting or culture in which the behavior takes place. We have to learn to think in terms of "person behaviors in a setting." The weight attached to habits or intentions will be stable across instances of the same "person behavior in a setting," but will vary across instances of the same "person behaviors in a setting." In addition to habits and intentions, it is important to consider "facilitating conditions," such as the person's level of motivation, ability, skill and opportunity to carry out his behavior. For example, a person whose hands are tied will not be able to hit another even when his level of habit is very high (e.g., he has been frequently rewarded for hitting) and his intention to hit the other is very high; thus, habit plus intention must be multiplied with facilitating conditions, conceived as varying from 0 to 1, in order to predict behavior.

Intentions are a function of three broad antecedents: (a) social conditions, (b) the affect towards the behavior, and (c) the perceived consequences and the value of these consequences of the behavior. Social conditions reflect norms, roles, the person's self-concept (I am the sort of person who usually does that; I am the sort of person who should do that), interpersonal contracts (P and O agree to meet at 8 p.m.), and the broad social situation (the relationship between P and O may involve common goals vs diametrically opposed goals; P may have more, equal, or fewer resources than O; P and O may have known each other for a long time vs they may have just met). Such variations in the social conditions provide social pressures for or against a particular behavior.

The affect towards the behavior is a conscious emotional reaction to the thought of the behavior. This can vary from extreme pleasure associated with the behavior to extreme disgust. Finally, the perceived consequences are ideas about what is likely to happen following the behavior. The value of these consequences can vary from extremely negative to extremely positive. The perceived probability that a behavior will be followed by a particular consequence when multiplied by the value of that particular consequence predicts the intention to behave in the particular way. As analyzed by subjective utility theorists, the sum of the products of the probability times the value is a predictor of the intention.

METHODOLOGY

In the analysis of subjective culture[9], we have developed procedures for the study of each of the terms of the theoretical framework described above. Our procedures were designed to provide equivalent measurement across different cultures while at the same time giving each cultural group a chance to express its views in the way it normally uses language. In other words, we employed culture-specific methods and the local language for the study of constructs that have universal meaning and thus allow cross-cultural comparisons.

A critical aspect of the approach is to use very different methods and yet find consistencies in the responses of people in the two cultures across such methods. Two examples will be given to illustrate this point.

EXAMPLE 1. Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou[10] studied the role perception of Greeks and Americans. In a detailed examination of perceived behaviors which are considered appropriate within different roles, they found a sharp difference between Americans and Greeks. Namely, while both groups perceived ingroup roles, such as father-son, son-father, physician-patient, client-lawyer, in more or less the same way, the perception of outgroup roles, such as police-citizen or student-university administrator, was very different. The Greeks saw much more antagonism in outgroup roles than did the Americans. Furthermore certain roles, such as guest-host, host-guest, tourist-native, native-tourist, were placed by the Greeks very close to the ingroup roles while the Americans placed them somewhat closer to the outgroup roles. From these data, one would predict that the Greeks would react to helping a member of the ingroup more or less the same way as do Americans, but would be much more antagonistic towards members of their outgroup and, furthermore, Greeks should be more willing to help a tourist than another Greek who is not a member of their ingroup.

These predictions were supported by an observational study by Feldman.[11] In that study Feldman examined the behavior of persons in a subway. The experimenter approached each subject and asked for help, requesting that the subject mail a letter. The percent of refusal to help a person from the same culture vs a foreigner was similar in Boston, Massachusetts and Paris, France. The percent refusing to help an American in Athens was comparable to the percent refusing to help a Frenchman in Boston. However, the percent refusing to help a Greek in Athens was almost twice as high as the percent refusing to help an American. The explanation is that an American is perceived as a guest and a potential member of the ingroup, while a Greek who is not known and asks for help in a busy subway is a member of the outgroup. In still another study, Triandis and Vassiliou[12] asked Greek and American personnel directors to respond to dossiers of prospective employees. The employees were "recommended" by people who were known to the director or unknown to the director. Through an analysis of variance technique it was possible to determine how much weight the personnel directors gave to the recommendation. It was predicted and found that Greek personnel directors will give much greater weight to a recommendation from a friend than from an unknown person, while the Americans will give only slightly more weight to the recommendations of a friend. Again, the ingroup-outgroup principle explains the behavior of the two groups. Note that in these studies, the methods are different; the role differential used by Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou is a questionnaire in which a role, such as native-tourist, is responded to on a particular behavior scale, such as "would help," and the subject is asked to indicate how appropriate he believes it is for the particular behavior to take place in that role. In the Feldman study the behavior of people was observed. In the Triandis and Vassiliou study the personnel director reacted to dossiers of prospective employees.

EXAMPLE 2. The second example comes from studies of blacks and whites who differ in social class. We discovered a sharp difference between black ghetto hardcore unemployed males and blacks from the middle class or working class.[13, 14, 15, 16] In order to describe the pattern of difference we employed the concept of "eco-system distrust." By "eco-system distrust" we mean a rejection of people, institutions, and the idea of lawfullness in the events occurring in one's environment. We found that the black hardcore was high in eco-system distrust on a large number of questionnaires as well as on some observations of behavior. For example, in studies of stereotypes, we found the black hardcore to be low in their perceptions of trustworthiness of most social stimuli. In studies of roles they indicated less appropriateness of trusting, even in ingroup roles. They rejected establishment figures such as "black foreman" and "black policeman." When asked to fill in sentences of the form "If you do your own thing...", they gave "trouble" as a frequent fill-in response. When employed by us to help us in data collection, they rejected conceptions typically found among the middle class, such as "If you fill in your time card, you will eventually get paid." In short, on both the questionnaire and observational studies this particular sample suggested that they do not trust individuals or institutions. Such consistencies allow us to be reasonably sure that we have identified and established a cultural difference.

TRAINING FOR INTERPERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS

The discussion presented above suggests that an important aspect of intercultural training should be directed towards increasing the awareness of people in each culture concerning the subjective culture of people of the other culture. More specifically, it should be directed at making the attributions that P makes concerning O's behavior similar to the attributions that O makes concerning his own behavior. This requires that the cultural differences obtained through the methods described above be reflected in the training. To accomplish this aim we have developed the culture assimilator.[17] This is a training procedure that utilizes programmed learning. The trainee is presented with episodes portraying intercultural interaction and he is asked to analyze the causes of the behavior of each person in the particular episode. After each episode four explanations of the behavior are presented. The subject is given a choice among those four explanations and after he chooses he receives feedback concerning the "adequacy" of his explanation. A person from culture A is exposed to three explanations that are typically given by members of culture A to explain the behavior of a member from culture B and a fourth explanation which is typically given by a member from culture B to explain the behavior of members from culture B. The latter explanation is considered "correct" and when the subject chooses that explanation he is rewarded with a compliment and is given further information to support that choice. Such information reflects the studies of subjective culture and the patterns of cultural differences discovered in such studies. If he chooses the "wrong" explanation, he is told to read the story again and try another explanation.

How effective is the culture assimilator in changing interpersonal behavior? Studies have not yet been completed and many further studies are needed before we can have the complete story. Nevertheless, the evaluations we have completed so far show this approach to be promising.[18] In one intensive analysis[19] we examined the way a culture assimilator to train whites concerning the point of view of ghetto blacks changes the thinking and behavior of these whites. We compared samples of trained and untrained whites on a number of tasks. First, we presented a different set of incidents and asked the subjects to analyze them. The trained subjects employed more "correct" attributions for their analyses than did the untrained. In other words, the attributions of the trained were more similar to the attributions made by the black ghetto members to explain the behavior of black ghetto members than was the case for the untrained. This simply tells us that the training generalizes from one incident to another. Subjects were also presented with interracial conflict social situations and they were asked to indicate the proper behavior of people in the situation at a further point in time, as well as the feelings that people in these situations may have for each other. The trained perceived less conflict in such situations than did the untrained. In another task we presented dossiers of employees working in a supermarket to the trained and untrained subjects who were asked to evaluate these employees concerning whether they should be promoted, retained, or fired. The behavior of the employees was described in considerable detail, a picture of the employee was provided, as well as information concerning the employee's typical dress and attitude. The trained subjects were shown to be influenced by the effectiveness of the behavior of the employee to a greater extent than the untrained subjects suggesting that they gave greater weight to the effectiveness of the behavior than to the race, dress or attitudes of the employee.

While these changes are desirable, there was data in this study which suggested either lack of change or insufficient change. Specifically, on a standard "attitude towards blacks" scale the trained did not differ from the untrained. Furthermore, when we placed the trained and untrained subjects in an interracial cooperation situation, with a black confederate who did not know whether the white subject was trained or untrained and rated him on a number of sociometric questions, the obtained results were not straightforward. Specifically, when the interracial situation occurred first the trained subjects froze and behaved quite unnaturally, apparently being very embarrassed and unable to relate to the black confederate. Thus the confederate in this particular case preferred the UNTRAINED to the trained. On the other hand when the interracial situation was presented second, after the other tasks mentioned above, which turned out to be one week later, the trained were rated more positively on the sociometric questions than were the untrained. Both observations of the behavior of the subjects in that situation, through a one-way mirror, and their ratings of the extent to which they felt apprehensive during testing suggests that the trained subjects who were placed in the interracial situation immediately after training felt too apprehensive to behave effectively. On the other hand, these subjects, if presented with the interracial situation at the end of a long series of questionnaires and other tasks, seemed to have recovered from their apprehension and seemed to have become able to utilize their newly acquired skills. Thus, in the latter condition the trained subjects performed better than the untrained. We concluded that it is too soon to be sure that the culture assimilator will modify the behavior of the trained persons. However, since we do have solid evidence that the trained people change their way of thinking about interculture relations, we believe that with some additional training, including training that would increase their self confidence, we should be able to improve their interpersonal behavior. This work still remains to be done.

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AN EXPLICATION AND EVALUATION OF COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

Jerry L. Burk

Cognitive anthropologists have claimed that their ethnographic methods will: (1) empirically prove the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis;" (2) probe the "black box" of the human mind; and (3) revolutionize traditional ethnography. The purpose of this paper is to briefly trace the development of cognitive anthropology together with an outline of the major assumptions and theoretical assertions in order that the potential for accomplishing these claims be evaluated. Two limitations are inherent in the remarks of this paper. First, cognitive anthropology is not a mature field of inquiry. The field is little more than ten years old and the theoretical assumptions have not had the opportunity to season through sound research. For this reason I will focus my remarks upon Stephen A. Tyler's citation of assumptions in cognitive anthropology. Second, cognitive anthropology literature is limited as a result of the recent emergence of this sub-field of cultural anthropology and the optimal volume of literature for evaluation of a field of inquiry is not available. I will contend, however, that the claims to probe the human mind through the methods of cognitive anthropology are overstated; disprovable at best, and visionary at worst. I will develop my remarks in a threefold analysis by discussing: (1) the origin, (2) major tenets, and (3) heuristic significance of cognitive anthropology.

I: THE ORIGIN OF COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

Cognitive anthropology is a recent specialty to arise in the field of anthropology. Ward H. Goodenough (1956) is credited with the founding treatise in cognitive anthropology. Goodenough discussed componential analysis as a means for discovering the structures and hierarchies of informants "minds." Componential analysis became one of the many specialties to arise since Goodenough's treatise.

George Spindler recognized the unprecedented methods of cognitive anthropology in his introduction to Stephen Tyler's collection of papers in this new field. Spindler stated that, "The recency of the field is obvious, although the earliest publication represented is 1956, the majority of the papers were published for the first time during 1964 or later."[1] The bulk of theorizing and application of cognitive anthropology is less than ten years old.

Spindler supported cognitive anthropology as a new theoretical focus and significant departure from traditional ethnography. He asserted, "The last decade has been a most seminal period in anthropology. Among the developments with greatest potential for changing the future shape of cultural anthropology is . . . Cognitive Anthropology."[2] Traditional ethnography was to be revolutionized by the new research methods and field investigations of cognitive anthropologists. Spindler's foreward concluded that, "When we read the papers in this volume and the Introduction by the editor, we are led to the conclusion that anthropology may undergo . . . a drastic reorganization of its methods, theories, and even facts."[3] Professor Spindler, furthermore, observed that cognitive anthropology is a recent development and not widely understood. The field is new and has branched into four major emphases.

1. Componential analysis
2. Ethnography
3. Ethnoscience
4. Semantic analysis

The nature, scope, and significance of these emphases will not be developed as their assumptions are subsumed by the major tenets of cognitive anthropology.

II: MAJOR TENETS OF COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

"NEW" FOCUS. Ethnographic investigations by cognitive anthropologists are significant departures from traditional ethnography. The focus changed from the material (overt) phenomena of culture to cognitive (covert) concerns. Tyler stated, "... cognitive anthropology constitutes a new theoretical orientation. It focuses on DISCOVERING how different peoples organize and use their cultures. This is not so much a search for some generalized unit of behavioral analysis as it is an attempt to understand the ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING BEHAVIOR. It is assumed that each people has a unique system for perceiving and organizing material phenomena--things, events, behavior, and emotions."[4] "Culture" was discussed as a cognitive construct by cognitive anthropologists.

Cultural materials are not the source for discovering the nature of a given culture, rather they are the "by-product" of a culture. Tyler continued, "The object of study is not these material phenomena themselves, but the way they are organized in the mind of men. Cultures then are not material phenomena."[5] Ethnography, therefore, involves the discovery of the covert, cognitive constructions. Charles Frake reiterated the theme of cognitive anthropology, "An ethnographer should strive to define objects according to the conceptual system of the people he is studying. Let me suggest, then, that one look upon the task of getting names for things not as an exercise in linguistic recording, but as a way of finding out what are in fact the 'things' in the environment of the people being studied."[6] The focus of cognitive anthropology may be characterized by two questions:

1. What material phenomena are significant for the people of some culture?
2. How do the people of a culture organize material phenomena?

Tyler contended that cognitive anthropology differed from traditional ethnography in the categorization of phenomena. "Where earlier anthropologists sought categories of description in their native language, cognitive anthropologists seek categories of description in the language of the natives."[7] Native classifications and categories of material phenomena are sought in order that the "cognitive world" of the natives be illuminated.

Native language and terminological systems are studied to discern the cognitive system. "Nearly all of this work has been concerned with how other peoples 'name' the 'things' in their environment and how these names are both an index to what is significant in the environment of some other people, and a means of discovering how these people organize their perceptions."[8] Order may be imposed upon material phenomena in many ways.

Cognitive anthropologists claim to have discovered an order of perception for native peoples whereas traditional enthnographers imposed an order. "There are, then, two ways of bringing order out of apparent chaos--impose a pre-existing order on it, or discover the order underlying it. Nearly all of earlier anthropology was characterized by the first method. By contrast, cognitive anthropology seeks to develop methods which can be used for discovering and describing these principles of organization."[9] Frake qualified the leap from language system to cognitive system by stating that, "The analysis of a culture's terminological system will not, of course, exhaustively reveal the cognitive world of its members . . ."[10] He continued his statement with a near contradiction to his qualification when he remarked, ". . . but it (methods of cognitive anthropology) will certainly tap a central portion of it (the cognitive world). Culturally significant cognitive features must be communicable between persons in one of the standard symbolic systems of the culture. A major share of these features will undoubtedly be codable in a society's most flexible and productive communication device, its language."[11] Language systems are alleged to be the avenue to cognitive systems and structures.

Cognitive anthropologists study the material phenomena of a culture as it is revealed in the speech of an informant and use these linguistic items in mapping the cognitive system. Linguistic items, together with their relative use in varying contexts, lead cognitive anthropologists to the discovery of cognitive structures. "The items and arrangements of a structural description of the language code need not be isomorphic with the categories and propositions of the message. Linguistic forms, whether morphemes or larger constructions, are not each tied to unique chunks of semantic reference like baggage tags; rather it is the use of speech, the selection of one statement over another in a particular socio-linguistic context, that point to the category boundaries on a culture's cognitive map."[12] Methods of cognitive anthropology allow the researcher to conceptually experience and describe events as the informant experiences them.

"The intended objective of these efforts is eventually to provide the ethnographer with public, non-intuitive procedures for ordering his presentation of observed and elicited events according to the principles of classification of the people he is studying. To order ethnographic observation solely according to an investigator's preconceived categories obscures the real content of culture: how people organize their experience conceptually so that it can be transmitted as knowledge from person to person and from generation to generation."[13] Verbal behavior is the source from which cultural anthropologists claim to "get inside the human 'black box' " to discover cognitive systems.

ANALYTICAL MODEL. Formal analytical methods are applied to elicited verbal behavior in order that the informant's category system be discovered. "A particular set of data relating to some semantic domain must be explained by their relationship between units comprising that domain--not by determinants outside of it. The problem of external determinants is delayed until internal determinants are analyzed . . . A formal analysis is complete when the relations among all the units comprising a semantic domain are described."[14] Verbal behavior is used as an inroad to cognitive domains. This focus, moreover, seems to deny the validity of the investigation of language systems in language and culture studies.

Cognitive anthropologists seek to revolutionize traditional ethnography and render anthropology a "formal science" rather than a "social science." According to cognitive anthropologists, ethnography will have become a formal science when a general theory of culture emerges.

"What we need is a more limited notion of culture which stresses theories of culture. Rather than attempt to develop a general THEORY OF CULTURE, the best we can hope for at present is particular theories of culture. These theories will constitute complete, accurate descriptions of particular cognitive systems. Only when such particular descriptions are expressed in a single metalanguage with known logical properties will we have arrived at a general theory of culture."[15] Traditional ethnography, a social science, must be revolutionized in favor of the formal science of cognitive anthropology.

New research methods had to be devised to separate cognitive anthropology from linguistic and ethnological studies in traditional anthropology. ". . . new fieldwork techniques and methods have had to be devised. Most important among these are techniques of controlled eliciting and methods of formal analysis. Controlled eliciting utilizes sentence frames derived from the language of the people being studied. The aim of such elicitіting is to enable the ethnographer to behave linguistically in ways appropriate to the culture he is studying."[16]

Traditional ethnographic methods would not satisfy cognitive anthropologists' search for a formal science of human behavior.

"CULTURE" TRANSFORMED. The concept of "culture" is transformed by cognitive anthropologists. Frake explained this transformation, "As Goodenough advocates in a classic paper, culture 'does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions,' but the forms or organization of these things in the minds of people. The principles by which people in a culture construe their world reveal how they segregate the pertinent from the insignificant, how they code and retrieve information, how they anticipate events, how they define alternative courses of action and make decisions among them."[7] Organizational, structural, and perceptual processes of informants become the focus in cognitive anthropology.

Traditional ethnographies do not provide sufficient data to supply a substantive base for cross-cultural comparisons. ". . . if a culture is the unit of comparison, then we must compare whole systems which are bounded in space and time or demonstrate that the parts of systems we are comparing are justifiably isolable. Since most ethnographers are not sufficiently complete for either of these possibilities, the whole comparative approach based on substantive variables must be abandoned if our claim is indeed cultural comparison."[18] Tyler indicts traditional ethnography, but does not delineate the particular maladies that undermined the comparative method.

The theoretical tents of cognitive anthropology return to Bastian's search for the psychic unity of mankind. "Cognitive anthropology is based on the assumption that its data are mental phenomena which can be analyzed by formal methods similar to those of mathematics and logic. Each particular culture consists of a set of logical principles which order relevant material phenomena. To the cognitive anthropologist these logical principles rather than the material phenomena are the object of investigation."[19]

Frake summarized the advantages of cognitive anthropology. ". . . a strategy of ethnographic description that gives a central place to the cognitive processes of the actors involved will contribute reliable cultural data to problems of the relation between language, cognition, and behavior; it will point up critical dimensions for meaningful cross-cultural comparison; and, finally, it will give us productive descriptions of cultural behavior, descriptions which, like the linguist's grammar, succinctly state what one must know in order to generate culturally acceptable acts and utterances appropriate to a given socio-ecological context." [20]

III: HEURISTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS. Robbins Burling indicted the assumptions of componential analysis specifically and cognitive anthropology generally in, "Cognition and Componential Analysis: God's Truth or Hocus-Pocus?" He addressed himself to the objectives sought by cognitive anthropologists. "Anthropologists who have advocated the use of componential analysis and similar formal methods as a way of studying the meaning of sets of terms seem to have had two contrasting objectives. Their first and more modest goal has been to specify the conditions under which each term would be used. The problem has been posed in the following way: What do we have to know in order to say that some object is to be called by a given term? . . . The more ambitious objective of the method is to use it to lead us to an understanding of the criteria by which speakers of the language themselves decide what term to use for a particular item."[21] I will discuss the second objective as it deals with the thrust of cognitive anthropology away from traditional ethnography to a perspective dealing with the cognitive functions of informants.

The second objective presents a significant departure from traditional ethnography as the "psychological field" or "world-view" of man is sought. "It is a long and difficult leap from an analysis which is adequate in the sense of discriminating which term should be used to denote an object to that particular analysis which represents the way in which people construe their world"[22] The single-most significant point to consider is that capability of cognitive anthropological methods to reconstruct the individual's cognitive structure. I agree with Burling, that goal is highly unlikely if possible at all, "... I will doubt whether any single analysis tells us much about people's cognitive structure, even if it enables us to use terms as a native does."[23] The gap between language and the human mind is too large an abyss to leap without substantive proof.

LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY. Cognitive anthropologists have renewed the issue of linguistic relativity posited by Sapir and Whorf. Burling stated that cognitive anthropologists are endorsing some of the issues that led the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis into disrepute. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis did not claim a direct correlation between language and thought as Burling suggests. Burling maintained that, "The hope that we could somehow use our knowledge of language to gain understanding of the workings of the human mind has had a long history. Whorf's ideas have fallen into disrepute largely because the relationships which he claimed to see between patterns of language and patterns of thought could be checked only from the side of language. The language patterns were there to be sure, but how, except through intuition, could one tell whether the patterns correspond to anything else."[24] Whorf is denied by scientists who, like Sir Karl Popper, claim that science must be disprovable if it is to stand as science. Clearly, Whorf's ideas are not disprovable but this does not deny the validity of Whorf's hypothesis. Whorf discussed the parallel development of language and thought, whereas cognitive anthropologists claim a direct link to the mind of man through language. Burling questions this logical leap. ". . . when an anthropologist undertakes a semantic analysis, is he discovering some 'psychological reality' which speakers are presumed to have or is he simply working out a set of rules which somehow take account of the observed phenomena? . . . It is always tempting to attribute something more important to one's work than a tinkering with a rough set of operational devices. It certainly sounds more exciting to say we are 'discovering the cognitive system of the people' than to admit that we are just fiddling with a set of rules which allow us to use terms the way others do."[25] The claims of cognitive anthropologists do not fit the research in this field of inquiry.

The disparity between research methods and vast claims is too great for Burling. "I believe we should be content with the less exciting objective of showing how terms in language are applied to objects in the world, and stop pursuing the illusory goal of cognitive structures."[26] I contend that cognitive anthropology is visionary in its claims to be a new field of inquiry – it is a specialization within cultural anthropology at best; a fad at worst. Anthony F.C. Wallace warns us about being duped by inflated claims. "Fads in culture-and-personality, as in other fields of endeavor, are sometimes difficult to distinguish from new specializations....A similar observation may be made with respect to a number of conceptual schemes and research procedures 'borrowed' from other disciplines. . . . Their incorporation into anthropological thought is regularly accompanied by inflated claims that they are universal theoretical or methodological solvents, and students flock to try them out. Enthusiasm wanes when they are recognized as being useful only in solving particular kinds of problems, and they assume the humbler but more enduring role of specializations."[27] I question whether cognitive anthropology has sufficient theoretical justification to survive as a specialty at all.

IV: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK. Cognitive anthropologists have not generated theories based upon sound research. Claims and postulates posited by cognitive anthropologists seem to deny the validity of other fields of inquiry. Generally, theories emerge with the synthesis of research findings and investigation from many fields. Theory is, ". . . a conceptual schema that we invent or postulate in order to explain to ourselves, and to others, observed phenomena and the relationship between them, thereby bringing together in one structure the concepts, laws, principles, hypotheses and observations from often very different fields."[28] Scientific theories serve three main functions:[29]

1. CORRELATE MANY SEPARATE FACTS — 'A theory generally serves to correlate many separate facts in a logical and more easily grasped structure of thought.'
2. SUGGEST NEW RELATIONS — 'A theory or hypothesis, whether general or limited, is expected to suggest new relations.'
3. DEDUCTIVE PREDICTIONS CHECK WITH EXPERIENCE — '. . . the prediction of specific new observable phenomena and the solution of practical problems.'

Cognitive anthropology has not generated the advantages that are characteristic of good theory.

1. SIMPLICITY — The number of assumptions and hypotheses has increased in the emergence of cognitive anthropology.
2. PLAUSIBILITY — The postulates and assumptions posited are not credible.
3. FLEXIBILITY — Cognitive anthropologists have not allowed for modification in postulates, assumptions, or claims.

Cognitive anthropologists attacked the paradigm of traditional ethnography with a "NON-THEORY."

A. Cognitive Anthropology: Prove the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?

Cognitive anthropologists claim to provide empirical evidence for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The position of anthropologists and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis are not identical. I will develop the nature of the linguistic relativity hypothesis by discussing its historical emergence, major tenets, and demonstrate that the tenets are not identical to those of cognitive anthropology.

Benjamin Lee Whorf has generally been credited with the linguistic relativity hypothesis. That hypothesis has been variously identified as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Korzybski-Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the linguistic Weltanschauung hypothesis, as well as the linguistic relativity hypothesis. Whorf's position was reflected in "Science and Linguistics." ". . . the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized in our minds. We cut up, and organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way — an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the pattern of our language."[30] An inextricable relationship between the language spoken and the thought processes of individuals was alleged to exist.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY HYPOTHESIS

Linguistic relativity grew from the denouncement of the psychic unity doctrine. Marvin Harris identified the psychic unity doctrine as the belief that, ". . . the human mind is everywhere essentially similar."[31] Underpinnings of the psychic unity doctrine are further specified as E.B. Tylor (1865) supported its assumptions. He stated, " . . . the facts collected seem to favor the view that the wide differences in the civilization and mental state of the various races of mankind are rather differences of development than of origin."[32] Felix Keesing, moreover, equated psychic unity with the proposition that, ". . . all human groups . . . have the same potential for evolutionary development, though some were further ahead than others because of climate, soil, and other factors."[33] Man was alleged to have advanced through similar sequences of psychological make-up and potentials.

FRANZ BOAS. One of the most piercing attacks upon the psychic unity doctrine came from Boas in "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" (1896). Boas argued that no substantial proof could be generated from similarities of cultural process to prove the historical connections and common origins of culture reported by psychic unity theorists. He adduced that uniformities in cultural processes would be discovered through scientific inquiry of specific cultural elements and the manifestations of various cultures.

Boas, an accomplished comparative linguist, concluded that, ". . . a 'purely linguistic inquiry' provided the data for a 'thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world'."[34] Linguistic analysis was believed to be more efficacious than direct psychological testing of informants. He was convinced that informants were most nearly unconscious of cognitive categories revealed through language behavior.

EDWARD SAPIR. Boas' student, Edward Sapir, shared his mentor's conviction that language provided the view of reality held by individuals. Sapir asserted that, ". . . the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group . . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation."[35] Linguistic patterning was discussed as a force that unconsciously influences habits of perception and conceptualization.

Sapir believed that all cultural behavior was symbolic and that commonalities among men were the product of meanings shared through language behavior. ". . . the true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meanings which each of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions."[36] He claimed, furthermore, that language, ". . . does not as a matter of actual behavior stand apart from or run parallel to direct experience — but completely penetrates with it."[37] According to Sapir a more dynamic study of the genesis and development of cultural patterns would emerge through linguistic research and analysis.

BENJAMIN WHORF. Sapir was Whorf's professor at Yale where he became an exponent of the linguistic relativity hypothesis. ". . . no individual is free to describe nature without absolute impartiality but is constrained to certain modes of interpretation even while he thinks himself most free. . . All observers are not led by the same picture of the universe, unless their linquistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated."[38] Language structure was described as the basis for verbal behavior which PENETRATES WITH the experience of individuals creating preverbal conceptualizations in man.

The doctrine of psychic unity was categorically denounced by Whorf. He denied that men are led by the same picture of the universe. Relatively isomorphic views of reality were alleged to be possible when linguistic backgrounds are commonly acquired and shared.

According to Whorf the meaning of the world differs for individuals as their language creates different maps within the realm of ideas. Different languages, furthermore, provide different segmentations of experience. "... the problem of thought and thinking in the native community is not purely and simply a psychological problem. It is quite largely cultural. It is moreover largely a matter of one especially cohesive aggregate of cultural phenomena that we call a language. It is approachable through linguistics."[39] Meaning for Whorf was an important element to be reckoned with in linguistic analysis.

Whorf believed that the reality of individuals was somehow locked in the mind through language. The anthropologist's task was, therefore, to unlock this warehouse of reality by observing the language habits of men. "... all the give-and-take, between language and culture as a whole, wherein is a vast amount of what is not linguistic but yet shows the shaping influence of language. In brief this 'thought world' is the microcosm that each man carries about with himself, by which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm."[40] Language was perceived as the embracing element in the logic and reality of man.

Major contradictions separate the positions of cognitive anthropologists and linguistic relativists.

1. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis grew out of a denouncement of the psychic unity doctrine, whereas the cognitive anthropologists endorse psychic unity.
2. Cognitive anthropologists deal with the covert, cognitive processes as a focal point, whereas linguistic relativity focuses upon language.
3. Linguistic relativists view language as the inroad to the study of culture, whereas cognitive anthropologists deal with the "cognitive structure" as the embodiment of culture.
4. Cognitive anthropologists study culture from the inside (cognition) to the outside (behavior: verbal and non-verbal), whereas linguistic relativists study culture from the outside (language behavior) with no claim to have discovered the workings of the human mind.

Cognitive anthropologists claim to provide proof of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, but that possibility seems remote given the contradictions in the focus and theoretical tenets and the questionable research methods used by cognitive anthropologists.

B. Cognitive Anthropologists: Probe the "Black-Box?"

Cognitive anthropologists claim that the human mind will be probed by their methods. Access to the mind is claimed through language. Tyler and others claim to discover the cognitive structures which potentially explain human behavior. "It (cognitive anthropology) focuses on discovering how different peoples organize and use their cultures. This is not so much a search for some generalized unit of behavioral analysis as it is an attempt to understand the organizing principles underlying behavior."[41] The claim to probe the human mind through methods of cognitive anthropology stand as unsupported assertions — no evidence supports the claim.

Linguistic determinists studied culture through language analysis which is similar, though not identical, to cognitive anthropologist's focus upon cognition. These early linguistics espoused the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis with the interpretation that language DETERMINED culture and subsequently thought content. The direct link between language and thought is no longer endorsed by most linguists and/or ethnographers. Linguistic relativism has the greater following among modern linguists. "Most linguists today believe that this position (linguistic determinism) is not scientifically tenable; nevertheless, they continue to espouse the idea of a very strong influence of language on thought processes."[42] A relationship between language and thought is believed to exist but the relationship is not DIRECT. The human cognitive structure is not directly available to study.

C. Cognitive Anthropology: Revolution?

The possibility of traditional ethnography being revolutionized by the concepts and methods of cognitive anthropology seems unlikely. Anthony F.C. Wallace endorsed the onset of cognitive anthropology as a revolutionary era in cultural anthropology. He maintained that the methods provided empirical tests whereby traditional ethnography will be transformed. Proof was offered by Wallace in, "The Problem of Psychological Validity of Componential Analysis," he defended an empirically tested componential analysis method within the framework of cognitive anthropology.

Componential analysis is the oldest cognitive anthropological method and ought to epitomize the most stringent results of cognitive anthropologist's research. Componential analysis does not, however, seem capable of isolating the "cognitive world" of informants through empirical or any other means. Wallace acknowledges that, "It is not possible to show that a given analytic model is the only one which the native speaker can, or does, employ. But it is possible to show that a native speaker can use one model and cannot use another. Showing that a native speaker cannot use a certain model does not in any way imply that the model is not adequate to predict his usage; its structural validity is to be tested by other criteria embodied in the classic method of componential analysis."[43] If structural validity of componential analysis had been provided that proof would not demonstrate that the method is RELIABLE. The structural validity of componential analysis as a method may demonstrate that it measures what it alleges to measure, but I question whether it reliably measures what is relevant to, or substantiates the claims of, cognitive anthropology.

Wallace, unlike some proponents of cognitive anthropology, qualified the ability of investigative methods to autonomously collect complete ethnographic information. He said, ". . . despite their psychological flavor these tests can be developed only after standard ethnographic information is collected."[44] Cognitive anthropology was discussed by Wallace, therefore, as a growth from traditional ethnography. I would suggest that cognitive anthropology cannot be separated from or revolutionize traditional ethnography so long as it is dependent upon traditional anthropological methods.

Cognitive anthropology theorists seem to be in a dilemma, on the one side traditional ethnography is indicted while some theorists, like Wallace, build upon traditional ethnography. In one case claims are not substantiated by substantive proof while the second case denies the "revolutionary" nature of cognitive anthropology.

The disadvantages of cognitive anthropology may be highlighted by reviewing the assumptions and indictments upon other human scientists.

1. Cognitive anthropologists deny the validity of traditional ethnography as mistaken in focus.
2. Cognitive anthropologists impute structures in the human "black-box" that behavioral "purists" wiil not allow.
3. Cognitive anthropologists claim to have discovered cognitive structures of individuals whereas psychoanalysts compare and contrast norms of behavior (verbal and non-verbal) to discern "dysfunctions" and/or "pathologies."

Cognitive anthropologists seem to deny the strengths of other human scientists while endorsing their weaknesses. The case of cognitive anthropologists seem to be one of idealism gone to seed. None would deny the value of understanding the function of the central nervous system with its complexity of structures. But wishing and theorizing the discovery of these functions does not render that ideal a reality. Bad theory and bad science can only be achieved by vast claims that remain unsupported by investigative methods.

FOOTNOTES

[1] George D. Spindler, "Foreward," in Cognitive Anthropology ed. Stephen A. Tyler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), pp. vi-vii.

[2] Spindler, 1969, p. v.

[3] Spindler, 1969, p. v.

[4] Stephen A. Tyler, Cognitive Anthropology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 3.

[5] Tyler, 1969, p. 3.

[6] Charles O. Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," in Theory in Anthropology: A Sourcebook ed. Robert Manners and David Kaplan (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), p. 507.

[7] Tyler, 1969, p. 6.

[8] Tyler, 1969, p. 6.

[9] Tyler, 1969, p. 11.

[10] Frake, 1968, p. 508.

[11] Frake, 1968, p. 508.

[12] Frake, 1968, p. 509.

[13] Frake, 1968, p. 513.

[14] Tyler, 1969, p. 13.

[15] Tyler, 1969, p. 14.

[16] Tyler, 1969, p. 12.

[17] Frake, 1968, pp. 513-514.

[18] Tyler, 1969, p. 15.

[19] Tyler, 1969, p. 14.

[20] Frake, 1968, p. 514.

[21] Robbins Burling, "Cognition and Componential Analysis: God's Truth or Hocus-Pocus?" American Anthropologist, 66 (1964), p. 24.

[22] Burling, 1964, p. 24.

[23] Burling, 1964, p. 26.

[24] Burling, 1964, p. 26.

[25] Burling, 1964, p. 27.

[26] Burling, 1964, p. 27.

[27] Anthony F.C. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), pp. 43-44.

[28] G.J. Holton and D.H.D. Roller, Foundations of Modern Physical Science (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1958), p. 129.

[29] Holton and Roller, 1958, pp. 130-132.

[30] John B. Carroll, Language, Thought and Reality (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1956), p. 213.

[31] Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), p. 137.

[32] Harris, 1968, p. 175.

[33] Felix M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology: The Science of Custom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 142.

[34] Joshua Fishman, "A Systematization of the Whorfian Hypothesis," Behavioral Science, 5, (1960), p. 325.

[35] Fishman, 1960, p. 325.

[36] Keesing, 1966, p. 157.

[37] Keesing, 1966, p. 157.

[38] Carroll, 1956, p. 214.

[39] Carroll, 1956, p. 65.

[40] Carroll, 1956, p. 147.

[41] Tyler, 1969, p. 3.

[42] George A. DeVos and Arthur E. Hippler, "Cultural Psychology: Comparative Studies of Human Behavior," in The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd ed. ed. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), IV, p. 337.

[43] Anthony F.C. Wallace, "The Problems of Psychological Validity of Componential Analysis," American Anthropologist, 67 (1965), p. 235.

[44] Wallace, 1965, p. 236.

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Increasing Intercultural Communication: The PEACESAT Experiment, A Study in the Social Benefits of International Interactive Exchange by Communication Satellite

John Bystrom

Intercultural Communication is carried on daily via satellite within the PEACESAT demonstration system. Individuals in the Pacific Basin converse together although they may be as widely separated as residents of London and Tokyo. More important they are widely separated in experience. An exchange can involve discussants from a village in Papua New Guinea, a small Pacific island, a native village in Alaska, and the modern urban centers of Wellington and Honolulu, the latter the size of Boston or Cleveland.

The PEACESAT Project (Pan Pacific Education and Communication Experiments by Satellite) should be a harbinger of the future when professionals, administrators, or citizens located in many parts of the world will be able to confer together with ease and low cost. Today, it is the only international educational satellite network. Its structure and operation should be of interest to the student of intercultural communication. In daily operation for three years the system interconnects institutions in eleven nations and jurisdictions in the Pacific Ocean area via satellite. The object is to study the application of communication satellites in meeting the social requirements of remote areas with limited industrialization.

HISTORY

The PEACESAT Project was initiated in 1969 at the University of Hawaii. A pilot satellite communication system in Hawaii began a demonstration in April, 1971, with two ground terminals, one on the island of Oahu and the other on the island of Hawaii, using the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Applications Technology Satellite, ATS-1. The experimental system gradually expanded with locally financed and operated terminals in New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Kingdom of Tonga, American Samoa, Saipan in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and at the South Pacific Commission in New Caledonia. Under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the international University of the South Pacific (Fiji) terminals are being constructed in six additional South Pacific nations. When completed this will provide a regional educational network linking the centers of the University in addition to the broader international coverage. (See Map.)

Management of the experimental system is on a cooperative basis. The project participates with health, education, and community services to actively test the value of satellite communications in remote areas, and to learn the best methods for communication between people of diverse cultural backgrounds. The premise is that knowledge of what the user can apply, accept, and pay for is essential to development of future systems. The ground terminals being used each cost under $7,000 U.S.

Despite age and limitations of design, the ATS-1 satellite is well mated to project objectives. It has the wide area coverage suited to international communications rather than spot beams. It has sufficiently high power and the spectrum assignment to permit the small investment on the ground.

The published objectives of the PEACESAT Project follow:

> –to determine what communications can be developed to improve health, education, and community services in the Pacific with the availability of low-cost satellite and other communication links.
>
> –to conduct a series of pilot communication activities both international and U.S. Pacific, in which satellite communication is applied to health care, education, and community programs; to develop and support feasible new approaches to the delivery of health, education, and community services involving the application of communication techniques; to identify communication barriers; to measure user acceptance of the new methods; and to contribute to an assessment of future telecommunication system requirements in the Pacific Basin.

SPECIFICATIONS

Original system specifications were set to encourage educational communication in an international setting, both to produce evidence of user needs through the actions of the user himself and to illustrate a new kind of international system designed to free up communication among nations and people. The most important of these specifications follow:

1) TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION from all locations is standard with terminals capable of sending and receiving.

2) NO PREPARED SOFTWARE is needed. Dialogue is the key to utilization and the learning experience is the product of interaction.

3) MULTIPLE CHANNELS are potentially available at the lowest cost in dollars and spectrum.

4) LOCAL CONTROL exists in each instance since terminals are owned and operated by institutions.

5) SCHEDULE DECISIONS are the product of agreements between senders and receivers.

UTILIZATION

The functions for which the system is currently used can be divided into six categories.

(1) DECISION MAKING CONFERENCES involve administrators at several locations participating in joint discussion, on topics of value to the management of enterprises for which they are responsible. Specialists in agricultural practices from all parts of the Pacific Basin meet regularly over the system. Others who participated in scheduled exchanges are Health Directors, newspaper editors, municipal government representatives, librarians, educational administrators, and a variety of citizen groups. The reaction of participants and onlookers is uniformly very favorable.

(2) PROFESSIONAL AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING was expected to be a major function of the system because of the wide differences in educational resources at metropolitan centers and the more sparsely populated areas such as Saipan, Niue, or the Cook Islands. This expectation has proven out. All locations require trained personnel for health, education, and community functions. Remoteness from centers of learning contributes to obsolescence. The use of long distance telecommunications rather than costly travel has the potential for major social benefit. The distance from Saipan, the health headquarters of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, to Honolulu, a major medical center and center of training in the U.S. Pacific, compares to the distance between Stockholm and Teheran. The system has been used effectively in training exercises involving nurses, librarians, and agricultural extension agents. As this is written an international personnel management seminar is in progress.

(3) CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION, a third category, has included enrichment activities and complete courses using the system. In June, 1971, the world's first course of instruction for credit to be taught regularly via satellite was initiated. The students in two geographically separated classes successfully participated in structured learning activities using peer teaching. The students played learning games using voice exchange to identify and overcome barriers in interpersonal communication. The class pointed the way to low cost instruction via satellite as well as to methods for reducing English language dialect barriers to communication.

Since this first class the system has been effectively used for instruction many times. There was joint participation in classwork by elementary students in rural Alaska (U.S.) villages, the Suva (Figi) schools, Wellington (N.Z.), and Honolulu (U.S.). A college course has been taught successfully involving three universities in three separate nations; a joint staff was used and students received common credit. Students and teachers report very favorably on their experience and there is evidence that learning takes place.

(4) COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SEMINARS have as their purpose the support of organized efforts to improve the social environment. It was expected that these exchanges would be slow in developing because a mutuality of purpose among widely separated local groups would have to be recognized first. This expectation has proven correct. While used by organized native minorities and such groups as Parents-Teachers Associations, lawyers, and environmentalists, use of the system has been small and degree of effectiveness is uncertain for the moment.

(5) CONSULTATION AND REPORT ARRANGEMENTS include such activities as research support, epidemic control, and others requiring real-time communications and quick linking of often unpredicted locations. This category was foreseen as a high benefit one, and there have been many exchanges which demonstrate the high promise of this application. A smoldering epidemic of Dengue Fever has been followed for two years as it worked its way North from New Caledonia. Diagnostic consulting, test arrangements, and the responsive movement of men and materials was facilitated by a communication system that linked the National Institutes of Health in Washington, the Pacific Research Section in Honolulu, with locations in the South Pacific and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Experiments are planned to use the system to coordinate research and extension management efforts of marine and fisheries personnel throughout the Pacific and to investigate oceanographic and meterological phenomena in the Pacific Basin area.

(6) USER NETWORKS designed to serve high priority social services represent a major area of interest. The team network as employed here indicates a degree of central control and planning, a group of designated users, and a special purpose which is determined by a limited area of communications coverage, a political relationship, or specialized functions. A network uses the terminals of the system selectively on a scheduled basis. Under development is the University of the South Pacific Network, terminals linking centres or branch stations of the University located in a half dozen countries. The USP is one of two multinational Universities in the world.

Gradually evolving today is an experimental Health Network. The hierarchical structure and differentiated functions of the health services, the defined message channels and massive requirement for continuing education, dictate a strong communication system. Health services demand a continuing two-way flow of messages among facilities to operate most effectively. The ideal in the Pacific is an "intercom system" which links the medical office spaces and health service facilities found in one-quarter of the earth. The proper design of this communication system should grow out of the operational needs of medical and health personnel.

Networking plans have been formulated and agreements are being negotiated for an experimental two-way network of small island radio stations, which will allow stations to originate as well as receive programs, and for the networking of twenty-one libraries in the Pacific Basin using satellite links and mailed microfiche. An extension of the University of Hawaii ALOHA computer network experiment is being discussed via satellite to include terminals in New Zealand and other South Pacific locations.

IMPACT

What can be achieved with the PEACESAT demonstration? The real impact of the experiment depends on continued satellite use for several years more.

The demonstration, it is argued, is an essential step in the process by which more comprehensive solutions to the communication problems of the less developed areas of the Pacific and Asia can be determined and agreed upon. The project is producing a condition of awareness that is vital to long term problem solving. To the administrators of health, education, and community services within the area of demonstration places in the here-and-now a solution to existing lack of communication capability. To industry it contributes to a more realistic sense of market needs. To engineers, technical and social, it makes man the measure for future actions instead of the machine. Most important, PEACESAT can produce justification for future international communication system planning. With experience, it is easier to recognize barriers to growth and to mount the strategies needed to overcome them.

CONCLUSION

Telecommunications planning in the world is not often viewed in terms of the total needs of a society. If it was, the high priority which developing nations feel for improved health and educational opportunity would be reflected more clearly in telecommunications development and in the application of new technology such as the communication satellite.

The development of mass media systems--radio and television broadcasting---has occupied the attention of those who would apply telecommunications to new nations. In fact, to many, the word communication is synonymous with broadcasting. However, if the trained leadership of a nation, its administrators and professionals, are to receive the information support needed to deal with national problems, effective telecommunication systems, extending easily across national boundaries, are required.

Is there any way in which the benefits of space communications can be applied promptly to support the social objectives to which developing nations assign the highest priority--the operation of modern health care services and the production of trained manpower? With the PEACESAT experiment, it is hoped, experience will be generated to support the proposition that telecommunications for health and education services are of critical importance to less developed areas. If an effective system for sharing long distance telecommunication transmission is developed between the education and health centers of the Pacific nations and territories, the demonstration will have important implications for Asia, South America, Africa, and the less developed areas of the world.

THE COMMUNICATION OF CULTURE THROUGH FILM: FOCUS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Sharon K. Ruhly

The communication of culture through film should be an area of interest to the intercultural communication scholar. Increasingly, film is being used for learning about cultures, as well as for communicating between cultures. In this essay the writer will summarize a few of the views on film use, examine four distinct areas of writing on the communication of culture through film, and in conclusion briefly set forth some reasons for concentrating future research mainly in the fourth area.

The film medium is one resource often suggested for use in a wide range of intercultural education programs. Neil Hurley speaks from his experience using films for intercultural understanding, "Our education must recognize that the 'image' is the worldwide language which can unite men in the depths of their being across all known barriers of sex, race, class, nation, politics, and religion."[1]

Perhaps the most explicit statement, however, comes from political scientist Norman Miller, "Supporting the need for film, I would argue that the nineteenth-century triad in education -- teacher, book, class -- is outmoded. . . . .In short, the arguments for more effective use of educational films for teaching and research are the same across the social sciences: (1)as an important substitute for experience that students can not readily have; (2)as a comparison between cultures and between specific items within cultures; and (3)as a method of combating functional illiteracy and the aversion to print, increasingly commonplace in student populations. . . ."[2]

In addition to expressions concerning the value of using film in the teaching about other cultures and in the preparation of people for intercultural contact, one can find concrete examples of programs involving film. Hurley[3] has found twelve films to be particularly "illuminating" as he uses them for Chilean and American audiences. These represent a variety from feature films to short subjects and include at least one film adapted from an Italian novel. They run from fiction to documentary to allegory. Hurley, however, does not tell the reader why these films were chosen over others or what specific objectives he is trying to achieve in terms of intercultural education. That is, his basis for the use of these films is not clear.

Equally diverse is the selection of films suggested for area training (i.e., pre-entry education in the politics, economics, culture, etc., of the host region) that appear in a report contracted by the Department of the Army.[4] For example, the films on India alone include an N.B.C. television production, Assignment India; a film distributed by the United Missionary Society, The Awakening Village; a UNICEF film, Food for Thought; and the Satyajit Ray trilogy, a fictional series produced and directed by a native of the Indian province of Bengal.

Fictional film, such as the Ray trilogy, are not the only films made by members of "other" cultures that are being used in intercultural communication and education. In a school faced with racial tension White and Black students made separate films for a faculty in-service session. The two groups of students then came together to discuss which sections of each film should be shown. This meeting was reported to have reduced tensions among students, and the faculty reportedly saw their own patronizing behavior more clearly when faced with it on film.[5]

Financial support for filmmaking by young minority groups has been available, giving indication of the popularity of this type of activity. Further growth of cultural and ethnic groups' involvement in programming about themselves and their cultures can be expected with the growth of cable television. Thus one can expect an increasing number of messages to be produced, preserved and made available for study. Because of the support being given to film as a tool in cultural education, and because of the increasing amount of film (and video) messages being produced by various cultural and ethnic groups, the communication of culture through film seems to be an area open for research.

Before proceeding further, it would be useful to define what is meant by the communication of culture through film. A film that communicates culture is used to mean any film dealing with a specific culture or cultures and/or presenting members of a specific culture or cultures, shown to members of a second culture; or a film made by members of a specific culture and shown to members of the second culture, who may learn something about the first culture by viewing the film. Members of the receiving culture are, for purposes of this discussion, limited to North American Anglos, since this audience has been the focus of much of the previous research. These definitions are exclusive in the sense that they eliminate films such as those in the U.S.I.S. programs or those directed to developing nations, and do not include films, such as Don't Be a Sucker, which deal with the problem of prejudice on a general basis.

The literature that will be examined was located by consulting indexes for a ten-year period (roughly 1960-70) and by reference to three bibliographies. Footnote references from the original set of monographs were often consulted. The following four indexes contain listings under the heading in parentheses: Psychological Abstracts (film, cross-cultural differences, culture, culture change, communication, mass communication), Education Index (social interaction, acculturation, anthropology, educational anthropology, intercultural communication, intercultural education, moving pictures, film, culture, culture diffusion), Art Index (moving pictures), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Index[6] (moving pictures, cultural relations, cultural differences, cultural conflict, intercultural communication). Three bibliographies were also consulted: "The Aesthetics and Criticism of the Motion Picture,"[7] "A Bibliography on Film and Anthropology,"[8] and "Bibliography on Filmology as Related to the Social Sciences."[9] The resulting references, cited below, are intended to be representative rather than exhaustive.

Using the definition of "communication of culture through film" that is given above, one finds four definite focuses within the literature: (1)research on the Hollywood feature film, (2)research on the foreign fictional film, (3)research and writing on the traditional ethnographic film, and (4)research and writing on films made by members of a particular culture about themselves. In the discussion that follows the writer will abstract several suggestions from the first three areas that have application to future intercultural research in the fourth area. Furthermore, since the trend to use film in intercultural education cannot be ignored, attention will be given to statements concerning the development of empathy and knowledge of the other culture. Writing in the fourth area will then be examined and the area's potential for intercultural research outlined.

I. HOLLYWOOD FILM

The literature in this category focuses on the portrayal of various domestic and foreign groups in the Hollywood feature film or upon the effect of the Hollywood films upon audience's images of these same groups. The works consider: (1)message and source, (2)message and audience reaction, (3)message without reference to source or reaction, and (4) audience reaction only.

In the articles dealing with message and source[10] the trend is to relate the nature of the message to Hollywood's commercial nature. According to the article by Gundlach, Hollywood employs stereotypes because they are acceptable to the masses, and Hollywood is dependent upon the masses for its income. These monographs do not provide insight into the cultural nature of the source.

The second sub-category[11] relates the message to actual or potential audience response. In Dale's study, one finds reference to "understanding" and "holding a favorable attitude toward" the groups depicted, but meanings and implications of these terms are somewhat unclear. Contributions that the Nelsen and Nelsen study makes are (1)the use of comparative analysis and (2)the suggestion that "subtle" manifestations of prejudice may work against viewer identification and possibly cause the audience to accept unfavorable latent characteristics of the culture portrayed.

The monographs focusing exclusively on message[12] may offer little direction to future research on the communication of culture through film. Review is the most frequently employed methodology, and the writers take more of an argumentative than an investigative approach.

Articles focusing exclusively on receiver[13] deal with attitudes toward cultural groups, but these monographs provide little or no idea of the films that were used to induce attitude change. All three of the studies reviewed found that after screening the film in question, the audience held more favorable attitudes toward the group portrayed or (in the cases where the Anti-Semitism scale was used), expressed less negative attitudes. With regard to the Rosen study, one can say that an attitude related to empathy was reported. That is, respondents thought they knew how it felt to be a Jew; the degree to which their feelings would match those of a Jew is not known. Nevertheless the study does indicate that a "feeling" of empathy may accompany exposure to a culture via film.

In summary, the weakness of most of the literature on the Hollywood film (for purposes of intercultural research) is the failure to relate the film to source or to audience.The concept of empathy and the method of comparative study are, however, introduced.

II. FOREIGN FILM

The studies[14] of cultural elements in foreign films were initiated during World War II.[15] Their purpose was to provide cultural information on nations that were, for political or economic reasons, inaccessible to American and British anthropologists. As a result of the nature and purpose of the studies, connection was, of course, drawn between the film content and the culture of the source. No connections were made between the films and possible reactions of the American "lay" audiences. Rather, the focus was on what aspects of culture were "communicated" to the anthropologists studying the films.

John Weakland[16] indicates three advantages of analysis of a culture's fictional films as a means of "studying culture at a distance." They are the ideas that (1)films are more culturally representative than books because they are a group product and they are designed for a mass audience, (2)films deal with a widely varying content, and (3) films provide a combination of verbal and visual materials for analysis.

The theme is the focus of studies falling within this group. That is, the purpose of study of a film or films of a specific culture is to isolate "themes' and relate these to other information the anthropologist has on the culture in question. Simply, the theme is "a unit that recurs." Wolfenstein suggests that the theme can be anything "from a single image to a total plot configuration."[17]

The notion that aspects of the producer's culture will manifest themselves in the film is consistent with findings in the fourth area (i.e., focus on films made by a particular culture about themselves), and there are at least three suggestions that this methodology offers. First, one should look for recurrent aspects of the film, and therefore by inference should use explicit definitions and employ some sort of counting technique. Second, one should focus on concrete elements in the initial stages of analysis. Finally, cross-cultural comparisons of films will produce contrasts in themes, which in turn can be related to differences in the producing cultures.

III. ETHNOGRAPHIC FILM

"Ethnographic film" is used here to mean the film made by aliens to the culture filmed and made with the purpose of recording for, or communicating to, aliens of the culture filmed. As will become evident, this definition comes closer to some of the following orientations than it does others.

As with the writing on the foreign film, a dominant trend in literature on ethnographic and/or anthropological film appears to be a concern with its use for the purposes of research and for the communication to other anthropologists.[18] Often this concern is coupled with the express desire for the objective recording of data.[19] There is, however, a growing amount of literature dealing with the use of film for purposes of communicating to the lay audience[20] or to the student.[21] Finally, there are some monographs urging a pluralistic approach -- film to record, film to teach and present.[22] Regardless of the orientation, the greater portion of the literature seems to be either prescriptive or instructional in nature.

Among those writing on film as a research tool, Byers[23] makes an important methodological suggestion. Although he is discussing the use of still photos, what he has to say is applicable to motion pictures as well. It is his purpose to study the behavior not only of the people photographed, but of the photographer and the viewer of the photo as well. He indicates that much can be learned about a person's culture by allowing him to take the photographs. His proposal is therefore in line with the theoretical orientation of the Worth and Adair study, the main study reviewed in the fourth area. The theme that runs through the articles on film for lay audiences is a concern for a humanistic portrayal of the subject -- that is, a portrayal that is not condescending, but in line with the culture's view of the world. Importance is also given to the needs of the audience. In fact, David MacDougall defines ethnographic film as "any film which seeks to reveal one society to another."[24]

The writers discussing film used for teaching are concerned with the specialized audience of anthropology students. The articles are statements of advice or procedure to the would-be film maker[25] or user of educational ethnographic film.[26]

Ray Birdwhistell is the most specific, both in the objective he states and in the means of achieving this objective. In his monograph on the use of films for training in cultural observation, he states the goal as the "sensitization of observers." Repeated viewings are necessary before trainees begin to notice verbal and non-verbal behaviors that could go unnoticed in their own culture. From the examples he cites, it is evident that Birdwhistell is concerned with the commercial film as well as that made exclusively by the anthropologist.

The major contribution of the authors urging a pluralistic approach is the affirmation that film should be used to communicate culture as well as to record it. Asch[27] does suggest that the native subject react to an initial screening of the film. Crichton[28] allows in part for the introduction of documentary techniques. Most important, at least two of the writers connect use of film with the development of viewer empathy for the culture portrayed.[29]

Thus the three areas of literature reviewed seem to present some orientations important to scholars of intercultural communication. Comparative content analysis is found in one study of the Hollywood film. The studies of the foreign film provide a method of using film to illustrate aspects of the producing culture, although the notion of "recurrent" elements seems inconsistent with the lack of precise definition and quantification. Byers and Rouch, within the area of ethnographic film, provide support for a culture's doing its own filming, although Sorenson and others support the notion of filmic objectivity, which in turn would seem to deny the need for such subject involvement. Finally, the concept of empathy appears in the literature on the Hollywood film and on ethnographic film, although it is not tied to any specific film variables.

IV. FILMS ABOUT A CULTURE MADE BY ITS OWN MEMBERS

In the area of research on films made by a given culture about themselves, attention is immediately drawn to the work of Worth and Adair and their followers. Using a linguistic model, Worth and Adair[30] examine the process and product of a project in which they taught a group of one monolingual and six bilingual Navajos the rudiments of filmmaking and allowed them to make films on any subject. The basic linguistic assumption underlying their research is the notion that for each language there is a specific "theory" in addition to the general "theory" representing the rules basic to all verbal languages. The implications of the Worth and Adair study are (1)that films made by two different cultures will differ in structure and content, and (2)that these differences may result in comprehension difficulty when the message is screened by a second culture.

Chalfen, using the Worth and Adair study as a model, provides support for the first area. Chalfen states that in his study "some differences and regularities have emerged between Black lower socio-economic and White middle class filmmaking. Differences appear in (1) where filmmakers choose to shoot, (2)the desire to be on-camera vs. behind the camera, shooting the film, (3)the complexes of activities that have been filmed most regularly, (4)the relative importance and the manner in [sic.] humans appear in the footage, and (5)in what the filmmakers want to do with the reality they see in front of the camera."[31]

At this point the writer would like to suggest that the fourth area serve as the focus for intercultural research in film. There seem to be at least three reasons that support this position. First, we can expect an increasing amount of film and electronic media done by given domestic cultures about themselves. NAME (National Association of Media Educators) encourages production and exchange of such materials. Community access through cable television companies will hopfully provide an outlet for ethnic groups' statements about themselves. At present research access to these media materials seems more likely to occur and to occur at less expense than it does for the Hollywood or foreign film. Thus, it is suggested that we act now to produce some initial research findings that will legitimize our future access to such culturally produced messages.

Second, focus on a culture's production of messages about itself provides the potential for combining comparative research on the communication process within various cultures (cross-cultural research) with research on communication processes across cultures. As Becker indicates, we need to give consideration to this type of coordination.[32]

As an example of how this coordination might work, we can look to the media on the 1969 Cornwall Island demonstration between members of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation and Canadian officials. Members of the National Film Board Indian Film Crew, although not serving as camerapersons, were influential in producing a film You Are on Indian Land. Also available at the time were local television newsreels on the event. The event was a part of both the Anglo and the Mohawk cultures. Comparison ot the production process and the film of the N.F.B. with the Anglo production and resultant newsreels would fall into the category of a cross-cultural study. And yet these films have been shown to members of the "other" cultures, respectively (thus constituting an intercultural event). The potential for study in this and similar situations is great.

Finally, if we study films made by members of a culture about themselves and their culture and compare them with ethnographic films (films made by outsiders), we may be able to move toward more enlightened use of film in intercultural education. At present, for whatever reason, some proponents of film suggest that the culture-made film is superior to that made by the outsider, and yet the Worth and Adair study suggested difficulty in "understanding" when the films were screened before members of a second culture.

Thus, because of availability of raw data, because of the potential for combining cross-cultural and intercultural research, and because of the need for information on the use of film in intercultural education, research on "ethnic" film is proposed. The writer would also like to suggest the Westley and MacLean model[33] for use as a framework in guiding this research, but as Kipling would say, "That's another story."

FOOTNOTES

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TRANSLATING THERAPY TO THE CLIENT'S CULTURE

Paul Pedersen

The normal barriers to accurate communications are intensified by the normal conditions of counseling, where psychological anxiety distorts the message. Counseling communications are further complicated when either the counselor, the counselee, the problem or the situational context comes from "another"culture. Mental health professionals could benefit from specialized training in cross-cultural communications to translate their therapeutic message into the language of their client's culture.

Cultural differences are pervasive and inescapable in our plural society. Beyond the more obvious "international" and "ethnic" differences we are defined by multiple roles according to our work, sex, life style and beliefs which functionally resemble cultures in shaping our value assumptions. Counselors deal with persons who belong to clusters of other individuals in groups that define the individual's identity. We might therefore reasonably expect more attention to the ways in which cultural values affect mental health delivery systems and more attention to cross-cultural training of counselors for several reasons. (1) Developing countries are, as a function of westernization, urbanization, and/or modernization, being attracted to specialized mental health service models. (2) International contact through professional mental health associations, literature and research is becoming more frequent. (3) International contact through the increased mobility of potential clients from other cultures is becoming more likely. (4) Mental health services are becoming more easily available to less affluent populations in our own society which represent a variety of other cultures. (5) Ethnic groups and special populations in our society are becoming more self-conscious of their unique identity and are demanding that mental health delivery systems accommodate their special needs. (6) Finally, to the extent that we consider roles as cultures we might even consider the possibility that all counseling occurs in a "cross-cultural" context.

An intercultural model includes three levels of analysis where cultural differences intervene in the counseling process. At the first and most obvious level, international differences between persons from different countries provide a variety of cultural points of view which complement and conflict with one another. We expect persons from "foreign" countries to be somehow different and we accept their differences, even though we may disagree with them. At a second level we are being sensitized to intercultural differences between ethnic groups within our own country who have their own independent heritage contrary to stereotypic national values. The various ethnic groups are competing for limited resources in ways that encourage each group to develop culturally identifiable attitudes to define and identify membership of each ethnic interest group. At a third and most subtile level there is a differentiation of roles in ways that resemble cultures in maintaining unique value systems. We are least accepting of "legitimate" differences between ourselves and persons who "should" be more like us. We are more likely to stereotype them as deviants from "our" own culture than legitimate members of an alternative counter culture. To the extent that we demand conformity to our own value system at any of these three levels, we are likely to be intolerant of differences and prefer the idealized stereotype in our own mind to the experienced reality of personal encounter. In all three levels of analysis, "cultural" differences impose barriers on counseling communications.

The notions of "healthy" and "normal" which guide the delivery of mental health services are not shared by all persons from every culture and may betray the culturally encapsulated counselor to become a tool of his own dominant political, social, or economic values. Ethnocentric notions of adjustment tend to distort cultural values, allowing the encapsulated counselor to assume in his communications that others do or should see the world as he or she sees it. The very data which defines the task of counseling can take on a reified meaning in reinforcing modal stereotypes of cultural groups, separating counselors from the social reality of the person from another culture.

Systematic study of the inter-relationship between culture and personality has, until fairly recently, been the primary concern of anthropology. Cultural differences affect the THEORY of mental health services in a number of ways. The literature is polarized into two opposing ways of looking at culture in relation to personality (Caudill and Lin, 1969). One position takes the view that there is a fixed description of mental health whose observation is obscured by cultural distortions which must be bridged by some universal definition of acceptable behavior. This position assumes that we know the meaning of health and well-adjusted happiness whatever the culture of origin. A contrasting position views cross-cultural differences as clues to divergent attitudes, values and assumptions which differentiate one culture from another in a relativist framework. In the second alternative each socio-cultural context defines its own norms of mental health.

Anthropologists have generally tended to take a relativist position in classifying and categorizing psychological phenomena, identifying deviations as culturally unique, allowing multiple notions of acceptable behaviors to co-exist with one another in the cross-cultural situation and examining each culture as a separate configuration. Psychologists, with few exceptions have, on the other hand, tended to link social characteristics and psychological phenomena with a minimum of attention to intercultural maps of differentiated cultural values. Draguns (1971) claimed that only with the recent emergence of social psychiatry as a discipline have systematic observations been applied to the influence of social and cultural factors upon psychopathological systems. Either set of assumptions makes its own specialized demands on accurate communication cross culturally.

Cultural differences affect the PRACTICE of mental health services in a number of ways. Ethnic and class differences have produced a "deficit hypothesis" (explained but not supported by Cole and Bruner, 1972) which assumes that a poverty community is disorganized and that the disorganization presents itself in various forms of deficit. The implication is that minorities are somehow not only different in their cultural values but inferior by comparison to White, middle-class values. Contrary to the deficit hypothesis, Mercer (1971) discovered that differences between rates for mental retardation were not related to ethnic membership; Havinghurst (1971) identified social class rather than ethnic factors as differentiating achievement while Mayeske (1971) provides abundant evidence that there is no "independent effect" by ethnic-racial group membership on academic achievement.

In an attempt to deal appropriately with cultural differences, Flaugher, Campbell, and Pike (1969) concluded that closer attention must be given to the criterion data of predictive studies, recognizing that unperceived and uncontrolled combinations of influences on criterion measures may be fully as determinitive of results as the predictive measures being evaluated. Freeberg (1969), for example, describes many of these "unspecific biases" in the use of tests. Psychologists have so far failed in the task of identifying the sources of cultural differences in a setting where counselors must necessarily communicate with persons from different cultures.

Helpers who are most different from their helpees, in race and social class, have the greatest difficulty effecting constructive changes, while helpers who are most similar to their helpees in these respects have the greater facility for appropriate helping (Carkhuff and Pierce, 1967) Mitchell (1970) goes so far as to say that most White counselors cannot be part of the solution. for a Black client since they are so frequently part of the problem. Williams (1970) likewise asserts that the White mental health worker cannot successfully counsel the "Black Psyche." Ayres (1970) and Russel (1970) describe an implicit or sometimes explicit bias in the counseling process itself that is frequently perceived as demeaning, debilitating, patronizing, and dehumanizing.

In cross-cultural counseling, there is a great danger of mutual misunderstanding (McFayden and Winokur, 1956), less understanding of the other culture's unique problems (Kincaid, 1969), a natural hostility that destroys rapport and greater negative transference toward the counselor (Vontress, 1971). Thomas (1962) points out the danger of confusing a client's appropriate cultural response with neurotic transference. Middleton (1963), Woods (1958), and Trent (1954) suggest numerous other sources of difficulty for the White professional counseling Blacks. Ignorance of one another's culture contributes to resistance in opposition to the goals of counseling.

Some of the research has attempted to relate personal qualities of the counselor to cross-cultural effectiveness in counseling. We might expect counselors who are open-minded to have less difficulty than the more dogmatic counselor. Indeed, Kempt (1962) and Mezzano (1969) find open-minded counselors to excel in supportive understanding and self-exploration usually associated with counseling effectiveness while Russo, Ketz and Hudson (1974), Allen (1967), Milliken (1965) and Milliken and Paterson (1967) discovered that prejudice or factors related to prejudice were inhibiting counseling effectiveness when assessed by counselor supervisors. Contrary to these findings however, Foulds (1971) found dogmatism not to be a factor in communicating the facilitative conditions of counseling.

Cultural sensitivity relates to an awareness of indigenous resources within the other culture. Torrey (1970) gives an example of why urban Mexican-Americans fail to utilize modern mental health services, even when available. The westernized systems are irrelevant because they are inaccessible, are inhibited by a language problem, are class bound with the quality of treatment dependent on the individual's class, are culture bound and insensitive to the indigenous world view, are caste bound relating primarily to the ruling Anglo community and because the indigenous alternatives are more popular. Saslow and Harrover (1968), Suchman (1964), Sprang (1965) and Byrde (1972), Morales (1970) and Madsen (1969) likewise describe the types of problems and resources unique to the various ethnic groups but frequently overlooked by insensitive counselors. Each life style provides its own structures, rules, and mechanisms to cope with aggression and anxiety; and while they may differ from one another, they are able to promote and preserve mental health within that particular community (Mechanic, 1969; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963).

It is useful to compare counseling processes as we know them with functionally similar means of communicating help in other cultures (Torrey, 1971). Both therapists and indigenous healers use the process of "naming" in their treatment. An attempt is made to eliminate the "unknown" element of illness. The therapist must know the right name to label a behavior appropriately. The effect in either case is to lessen the ambiguity of the crisis and identify a "cause"that will allow the crisis to be explained in the culturally normal order of things. Both systems depend on the personal quality and credibility of the therapist to establish rapport with the individual seeking help. Without the cooperation of the person seeking help, either system recognizes itself operating under a severe and sometimes impossible handicap. Some kind of a coalition between the help-giver and the help-receiver must be nurtured to develop an effective relationship. Both systems depend on the client's expectation to get better as a result of working within this relationship. There are ways a counselor can raise a client's expectations through demonstrating his own legitimacy and effectiveness as a help-giver. Demonstrations of prestige and status are used to increase expectations as are expensive equipment and elaborate ceremony which serve to heighten expectations. The magical techniques of divination have a functional purpose much as training and certification of skill serve to display a counselor's credentials in the community. Any counselor who has tried to function in a culture that refuses to recognize his credentials recognizes the importance of his being accepted in his role as help-giver to the effective communication of help.

Reviewing the literature leaves the reader with a clear impression that psychological services in the mental health field need to become more sensitive to cultural differences. The criticism is not limited to members of radical groups, who, like Jerome Agel (1971) describe therapy today as a "commodity" and "means of social control," but leaders in the field like C.H. Patterson (1972) are also not hesitant to point out the need for change in an activist mode. It is no longer radical to challenge the traditional mental health delivery systems. The general public is almost too ready to assume that special populations are being victimized even without seeing the evidence. What is radical and unusual is any attempt to change that system, to introduce cross-cultural communications training and to radicalize the liberal rhetoric of mental health professionals.

The American Psychological Association reports on a Conference on Patterns and Levels of Professional Training held at Vail, Colorado, in July, 1973. One of the recommendations of that Conference was that offering services to persons of culturally diverse backgrounds by persons not competent in understanding such groups should be regarded as unethical. Training and continuing education coursework on the special needs of different religious, racial, ethnic, sexual, and economic groups was recommended for all professional psychologists. It is apparent that cultural sensitivity will play an increasingly important role in the training of counselors. While the preceding pages have reviewed large numbers of cultural studies on psychological problems and personality variables, we are only beginning to look at cross-culturally relevant practices in "how to help" persons from other cultures by enlarging the field and focus of cross-cultural counseling.

There is evidence that counselors and therapists are culturally conditioned in their responses and that counselor education programs may actually be contributing to the encapsulation process. Cultural differences between clients and counselors impose special problems of communication on the counseling process, demanding special approaches to intercultural counseling education. The simulated counseling interview training model with videotaped self-confrontation has been demonstrated to promote behavioral change in trainees for a variety of populations.

Simulation "role play" techniques have been increasingly popular in micro-counseling, counselor training programs (Delaney, 1969; Thayer, Carr, Peterson and Merz, 1972; Gysbers and Moore, 1970; Spivack, 1973; Ivey, 1971). Psychodrama (Wolfe and Hall, 1971) has long relied on simulation and role play of critical incidents as a mode less threatening to trainees and more motivating to clients. DeCrow (1969) describes extensive research in how simulated critical incidents have proven their effectiveness through programs of cross-cultural communications. In a laboratory setting trainees can learn to facilitate client growth by increasing their awareness and sensitivity to CLIENT reactions, communications, and possible alternative behaviors as well as their OWN reactions. In this relatively "safe" environment they can rehearse various response strategies without hurting real clients or themselves.

Most applications of micro-lab training utilize some form of recording such as videotape for self confrontation by the trainee. Kagan (1970) has effectively demonstrated how utilizing videotapes of a trainee's counseling session can help to identify and strenghen positive facilitative behaviors and change non-facilitative behaviors. Gysbers and Moore (1970) developed simulation experiences which provided counselors in training with situations in which they were able to practice functions they would perform later as counselors. Audio recordings were used as simulation stimuli in a programmed learning format to train practicum students toward helping clients explore feelings (Bierd and Standish, 1964). A video simulation was designed to help trainees develop alternative counseling responses for specific problems (Delaney, 1969; Eisenberg and Delaney, 1970). Simulation films were used to increase awareness and sensitivity to interpersonal communication (Gregorek, 1970; Spivack, 1972) and to accelerate client growth in counseling therapy (Iagan, 1967; Kagan and Schaul ie, 1969) while Ohlsen (1971) is developing a screening device for counselors using critical moments of counseling.

A training model being developed by this author uses simulated microcounseling interviews with videotaped feedback in cross-cultural triads. In each triad the counselor comes from one culture while the coached client and a third person both come from the same other culture. The model depends on a counselor trainee working with two training teams; one with a coached client and "anti-counselor" or the problem reified into the role of a third person; and one with a coached client and "pro-counselor" or go-between to serve a broker function in facilitating the counseling relationship. In each training condition the third person provides immediate feedback to the counselor. The model helps counselor trainees (1) anticipate the kinds of resistance to be encountered with a real client from THAT culture on THAT kind of problem; and (2) to articulate the problem from the CLIENT'S own cultural viewpoint.

A research project is underway to determine whether this model trains counselors in cross-cultural counseling interview with a coached client which will be scored together with responses to open-ended questionnaire responses as a pre-training measure of their counseling facility with persons from another culture. Next the trainee will be divided into two groups. One group will be assigned to microcounseling triads with one other coached client and a "pro-counselor," both from the same other culture, for a period of supervised interaction. The pro-counselor will encourage "positive" behaviors by the counselor. A second group will be assigned to microcounseling triads with one other coached client and an "anti-counselor" both from the same other culture for a period of supervised interaction. The "anti-counselor" will emphasize mistakes by the counselor. In each training condition the simulated interviews with coached clients, facilitators and anti-counselors will be videotaped. Participants will review videotapes of each interview with feedback from a trained counselor before attempting subsequent interviews. The two training adaptations will provide an opportunity to practice cross-cultural counseling skills with either positive or negative feedback to highlight a counselor's non-Facilitative behavior. After training, all trainees will be videotaped in a fifteen minute post-training cross-cultural interview with a coached client. All trainees will complete an open-ended questionnaire and interview to evaluate the training models, and provide post-training data for a comparative analysis.

There is a pressing need for a model to train mental health professionals in cross-cultural counseling communications skills. Ultimately such a model will probably incorporate a combination of training approaches such as the two mentioned above. There is an urgent need for more materials and training designs to focus on the specialized communications difficulties being forced on mental health professionals. The functions of cross-cultural counseling extend beyond the fields of clinincal psychotherapy into social work, interviewing or any cross-cultural relationship where persons from one culture are seeking to provide personalized assistance to persons from another culture. Candidates for training could include paraprofessionals with limited training as well as professionals with more extensive training. Counseling provides one obvious example of the ways in which communications theory relates to a specialized function in a cross-cultural context. Training designs and models must be developed to apply what we already know about cross-cultural communications to the specialized problems of the mental health professional.

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DIMENSIONS, PERSPECTIVES, AND RESOURCES OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Vernon Lynn Tyler

THEMATIC DIMENSIONS

If we knew why and how all people communicate, or understand what they do, for all times and places and situations, there might not exist any cause for "miscommunication." Presently we cannot know all things about all people for all time. A second choice, or possibility, would be to learn and use that which seems to "turn people off or on," that is, attracts or repels them. These are conditions we can know through experience and research, and they represent the basic approach of thematic research into intercultural communication.

THEMES are the HOW and the WHY different people DO and THINK as they do. Thematic dimensions may be defined as composites of closely related and mutually affective attitudes, perceptions, and circumstances which underlie the values and influence the beliefs, communications, and behavior of members of a culture: distinguishable similarities and differences which make a difference. These deal only with the most significant phases, levels, and circumstances between, within, or into cultures (which, for our purpose, are defined as common and unique identifiable ways of thinking, living, and communicating of and by a specific people). More esoteric detail is left to the genius of other disciplines.

NECESSARY PRISMS

A prism, or grid, or map which should be considerd for each phase of study in intercultural communications includes each of the following cyclical phases. They are almost instantaneous in most circumstances and can be simulated. They are considered here as an actual mental process. The speed and response vary by cultural circumstances – hence the need to give some perspective at this point.

1. CONTACT OR ENCOUNTER. The person who receives a message encounters it in another person, in a visual symbol, in a situation or environment, or in some other mentally or emotionally recognizable circumstance. The degree (depth), scope (breadth), and time/space elements of contact always vary.

2. REACTION. The person receiving the message imitates, reflects upon, modifies, or even rejects, the message because of bias or mental or physical preconditioning. (Consider, for example, varied reactions to fire sirens.)

3. RESPONSE. Encouragement or discouragement results in further message giving and reception, or in rejections. A positive or negative response takes place to some degree, thus far unobtrusive but none the less real.

4. REPETITION. As the message is repeated in the mind and analyzed, the feedback potential causes bodily reaction, verbal response, and further focus on direction being given to an anticipated outward or overt response to the message received. (Example: the "huh?" or "what?" so often asked by children.)

5. EXPANSION OR ADDITION. The message is mentally "coded and decoded" and correlated with other thoughts or reactions which are immediately modified. The "ifs" – or implications – are added to the message and its interpretation, representing potential repercussions or other feedback. (The guard goes up!)

6. MODIFICATION, IMPROVEMENT, OR REFINEMENT. The feedback-TO-the-message-giver is "shaped" by anticipated feedback-FROM-the message-giver, and is refined by unconscious reflection of cultural mores, faith, and anticipation. And the process continues. Again, this is an almost instantaneous process.

   There are times, in intercultural circumstances, when the process is deliberately slowed down, to "think it through," step by step. It seems to be intercultural communication's phenomenon because contrasting cultures "think differently."

   This cyclical phases process is best used as a prism through which thematic dimensions are perceived because of the variance between cultures. Compare, for example, the quick response of American businessmen to the more deliberate patterns of Asian commerce, often resulting in "miscommunication."

USE OF THEMATIC DIMENSIONS: CHARTED CONCEPTS

The most simple, or complex – depending on use and ability – conceptual elements of intercultural communication can now be considered. The chart which follows will outline "directions," "fields," and "dimensions." The third dimensional perspective is that of cyclical phases, already reviewed above.

One way to focus on the applications of the chart would be to color each of the horizontal directions and fields, and the vertical dimensions a separate color. As the elements meet, shadings and depths of color would be used to distinguish each culture or affinity group of people.

Another way would be to use musical notation (rhythm, melody, etc.); or recipes for cooking, for designs and patterns for sewing – these too could serve as models.

The point of the chart is that "themes" or ways of thinking, living, and communicating differ from one culture to another. As each of the significant similarities and differences are identified, and ways are determined to account for and deal with the meaningful data, the process of intercultural communication is facilitated. At the other extreme, offense results because of oversight, ignorance, or even purposeful challenge.

Use of the chart and its connotations can lead to improved intercultural communications. Extensive culture-specific research will be required to complete the components of the chart for contrast cultures. There are many instances when what was wanted to be communicated was the reverse of what actually was communicated because the thematic dimensions of the experience were overlooked or misunderstood. Intercultural communicative diplomacy has considerable distance to go.

CHART OF THEMATIC INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS DIMENSIONS

Direction	WITHIN (Inclusive/Comprehension)					BETWEEN	INTO
FIELD	I. EMI	II. ETI-CULTURAL				III. INTER-	IV.
DIMENSION		A. INDI-	B. INFRA-	C. INTRA-	D. SUB-	A. BI- B. TRI- C. MULTI-	IN- TRU-
1. EXPERIO-Cultural							
2. ENVIRO-Cultural							
3. MECHANI-Cultural							
4. ECONO-Cultural							
5. LINGUA-Cultural							
6. PSYCHO-Cultural							
7. VALU-Cultural							
8. SOCIO-Cultural							
9. EDU-Cultural							
10. RECRE-Cultural							
11. CONFLI-Cultural							
12. DEFENS-Cultural							
13. SOLU-Cultural							
14. TRANQUI-Cultural							
15. PARA-Cultural							

NOTES on the Chart of THEMATIC INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS:

[1] All dimensions overlap and sometimes duplicate correlated or like situations. The order can be changed and adapted for further research purposes.

[2] Components displayed here can be accounted for in most communications. Recall that it is not presently possible to see the entire process of intercultural communication as if in a vacuum. Illustrations are used only as examples.

[3] Only "thematic (composite) dimensions" are recommended for communications research and use. The more diminutive or detailed dimensions are found in such disciplines as anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and sociology, in historical studies and in futurology.

[4] Major research seems most profitable in the affective and motivational areas that are ambivalent or ambiguous. The common or acceptably unique elements of cultures do not as often seem to cause communicative breakdowns.

[5] Additional contrasts essential for each cultural mapping include: the AFFECTIVE (that which causes feelings or emotional response); the COGNITIVE (which elicits recognition, knowledge or mental activity); and the MOTIVATIONAL (of behavior or physical action; the psychomotor). All three elements are inter-related and are found in degrees in all cultural circumstances. Affect in one culture can be cognition in another, and vice-versa. The cognitive may be motivational with little affect in one culture, but may require considerably more feeling for motivated behavior in another. (Examples: patriotism, sex role dominance, manners.)

[6] The chart can be "fleshed out" with various cultural classification systems, many of which are found listed in the bibliography cited at the conclusion of this article. Space limitations do not allow their listing here. The BYU Language Research Center system tries to embody each of the significant components integral to intercultural communications form.

COMMUNICATION WITHIN CULTURES

Now let us consider possible research and use of these concepts.

FIELDS (horizontal categories: within, between, and into)

I. EMI-CULTURAL (Other descriptors: macro, maxi, pan, and supra).

These are dominant or major traits or circumstances: themes, which are found, in general, in each entire culture. They are not "universals," which are found in all people everywhere – such as need for food, the ability to perceive, etc., but they certainly may be cultural permutations of universals.

They may be positive or negative taboos, terminology, actions, situations, or symbols, having elements in many cultures but being highlighted by emi-cultural identification; they are unique in special ways to the given culture.

Normally these are found in "culture-clusters" composed of many cultural elements, or in cultural strengths that tie together in recognizable form.

A "supra-cultural" theme could be one which is 'within yet beyond.' It could, for example, be 'German' but found out of Germany, in an intracultural segment of another society – such as German people in America who still do and say and feel much as they do "in the old country."

II. ETI-CULTURAL. (Other descriptors: micro, mini, encyclo)

A. INDI-CULTURAL (Extends from INDIviduals through small groups)

Characteristics are much alike others in the culture but have some variance within groups, such as in voice patterns, age-level vocabulary, and the like. These may indicate individual introspection that results after a social encounter, with emphasis on the intercultural communication.

Group characteristics are identifiable in clusters or roles: families, sex, status, vocation, age – as differentiated from other cultural groups. Regional dialects are good examples of the indi-cultural.

B. INFRA-CULTURAL. (Depths within cultures, or degrees of intensity, emphasis, or uniqueness). Examples: American competitiveness, Asian "face."

C. INTRA-CULTURAL. (Breadth, scope, dimension, exclusiveness, and comprehensiveness of a people and their culture.) Examples: numbers attending sports functions, how widely jargon of such activities communicates; usually under given conditions.

D. SUB(micro)-CULTURAL. (Clusters of "groups of groups" of the indi-cultural age-group, sex, status, role expectations, demographic and other environmental elements in particular). Examples: "westerners" or "food processors," political party leaders, orators.

III. INTER-CULTURAL. (Communication BETWEEN cultures/peoples)

Comparisons are made pertaining to commonalities, differences, degrees and scope of cultures as these interface or interact with each other.

An assumption is often made that the more multi-cultural a communication or situation is, the less likely it is that intercultural interaction can favorably take place. Research and education often change that ratio.

COMMUNICATIONS INTO CULTURES

IV. INTRU-CULTURAL.

More and more, in our "shrinking world," there is INTRUsion of change agents into cultures, such as new or modified ideas, things, and people by design, invitation, or otherwise. Each case is interculturally "loaded."

These intrusions cause some degree of reaction and progressively modify emic (major) and etic (minor) cultural themes as these develop in given cultures. Examples: troups overrunning countries in war, advertising, music, foreign language. Dimensional studies are scarcest in the intru-cultural aspects.

DIMENSIONS OF THE FIELDS

So little culture-specific data to aid communication are presently available that the dimensions outlined here are but a series of elements to form a basic outline of the areas in which we need to work.

Many sophisticated studies, such as those included in the Human Relations Area Files, deal primarily with cultures as they were. What is needed in intercultural communication is information concerning what probably will be. Past communication should be studied, but future communication is vital to us. This is a central concept related to the findings and use of the studies and coding here suggested.

1. EXPERIO-CULTURAL. (What Takes Place)

Experience is consciously or unconsciously communicated in facts or events, (real or assumed) and in individual, interpersonal, situational and/or media (print, radio, television) circumstances.

The events or "happening" of the emi or eti-cultural are now joined, for our present purposes, with the inter and/or intru-cultural. That is, people, things, situations, and symbols come together. Even by their presence people, things, and situations communicate, though the verbal or written symbols usually predominate.

Examples: women shopping, being interrupted by tourists; individuals trying to understand foreign news magazines; multi-cultural conference phone calls. Each represents a new or broadened intercultural communications experience.

2. ENVIRO-CULTURAL. (Where and When It Takes Place)

Some things, to be culturally acceptable, are to be communicated only in some places and at certain times. Children's talk and play are examples.

The geo-cultural and the space/time considerations of environment and culture influence most communication in some way. Each has a significant place in communication and understanding.

3. MECHANI-CULTURAL. (With What It Takes Place)

Technological elements have communicative influence within or between cultures: machinery, technological advances, the press, mail and phone systems, and transportation. Each has some effect on the sending and receiving of messages. Machinerv can wreck a message if it is faulty or unacceptable.

4. ECONO-CULTURAL. (How Life Is Sustained)

This involves food gathering and the use of processes, work systems, and other methods of subsistence. In most cultures, these take far more time and effort than in the U.S.A., and often have much more social or ceremonial value.

Thus, in an intercultural communication, the econo-cultural elements often have highly significant thematic importance.Example: birthday cakes for people of different ages, or in countries where cakes are real luxuries.

The sustaining of life is integral to all cultures and usually has a meaningful place in significant communication.

5. LINGUA-CULTURAL. (Communicative happenings)

This is the heart of intercultural communication. Any thing or condition that involves a transfer of feelings, ideas, or assumptions within, between, or into cultures is a lingua-cultural element. It has varying degrees of success as a conveyor of meaning from and to people. Suffice it to say that language, broadly defined, is always cultural.

6. PSYCHO-CULTURAL. (Patterns Of Thought)

Normal to extreme thought processes of individuals in cultures include logic, real or ideal assumptions, emotional reactions (fear, joy, etc.,) and even extra-sensory perceptions or beliefs. These, of course, differ from culture to culture and drastically affect communication.

Examples: how "enemies" are treated (as brave or degraded), intuition, etc.

7. VALU-CULTURAL. (Importance And Worth)

What is valued or revered in one culture may be least important or inconsequential in another: money or promptness being examples. Religious values and behavior, and their communication, are usually of great importance. Religion, of course, is part and parcel of each of the thematic dimensions, since it is central to each society and culture, even if it is a "dormant" area.

Terminal (most wanted) and instrumental (how to get) values and their symbols are "signposts" for communication researchers and experts.

8. SOCIO-CULTURAL. (Interpersonal Actions And Reactions)

People centered (in human organization and relations) situations take place usually in emic or etic patterns, often based on silent assumptions: "I will not say that, because those people would not like ..."

When people communicate, each of the patterns is a key as to why and how communication has or has not fully taken place. Examples: who are heroes and why, what wins approval, who is busy.

9. EDU-CULTURAL. (Teaching/Learning)

Processes for communicating and teaching transmit (or at least make learning possible for) what is felt to be worth to others in, or new to a culture, through birth, or by transfer from another culture. Schools, in-service training, advertising, and the home all serve as edu-cultural elements which try to "teach" through communication.

Here we are considering the processes and media rather than ends or results. To understand the educational process of a culture is often equivalent to understanding how and why people culturally communicate. This dimension must always be considered in a comprehensive analysis of intercultural impact.

10. RECRE-CULTURAL. (Leisure Activity – no paradox!)

What people do when they do not have to do anything is a fair measure of what they "are" and why they communicate as they do. Modes and expressions of and concerning diversion, fun, as leisure time activities give perspective to values and behavior.

Behavior scientists take the leisure acts of people as valid indicators of cultural traits. Examples are always multi-dimensionsl, involving values, economy, environment, and so on.

11. CONFLI-CULTURAL. (Challenges And Disturbances)

That which causes conflicts or misunderstandings within or between cultures often results from improper perception or lack of judgment.

Some elements of the confli-cultural are found in all cultures. Examples can be drawn from circumstances involving assumed authority, mores, habits, and the like, evidenced in name-calling, derision, "freedom," and discipline.

12. DEFENS-CULTURAL. (Avoidance Of Danger/Threats)

Processes and weapons, including communicative expressions, are used to protect or avoid; these are usually defense mechanisms or deterents directed against the confli-cultural. Treaties, war strategies, and fighting illustrate this area.

13. SOLU-CULTURAL. (Dealing With Problems/Concerns)

People use various procedures to identify and deal with potential, real, or imagined problems, and to determine alternative solutions or possible choices.

Committee work, tyrants, and political processes exemplify these dimensions which lead to effective communication which is often intercultural.

14. TRANQUI-CULTURAL. (Harmonizing For Peace)

Certain conditions and processes are culturally adapted to lead to harmony in the various relationships of people. This mainly involves "public relations" abilities and "tools" and is usually based on previous experience or solu-cultural perceptions. The work of the United Nations, policemen, referees, and mediators communicates tranqui-cultural aspects of thematic dimensions.

15. PARA-CULTURAL. (The "Beyond Or Below" The Cultural)

Thought, behavior, and communication sometimes appear not to be part of shared or learned cultural dimensions. Individual idiosyncracies and abnormalities are common deviations from cultural themes. They might be called indi-cultural but are usually temporary or erratic rather than patterned or consistent. Examples are nervous ticks, the abnormal behavior of "geniuses," and some forms of extra-sensory perception.

All dimensions of other themes should be considered before labeling something as para-cultural. Nor must it be forgotten that all dimensions correlate and overlap.

UTILIZATION OF THEMATIC DIMENSIONS

The verbal models suggested in this study (and others used with them at the BYU Language Research Center for bibliographies backup and for actual training in intercultural interactions), all call for practical application. Models are only useful in giving direction. They cannot be used as actual vehicles to help reach a destination. On the other hand, individuals who want to travel, as in expediting improved intercultural communication, can use such tools to save time and resources, as well as to avoid offense.

By making personally adapted use of the models suggested here, intercultural communicators, researchers, writers, and trainers may be less prone to be either culturally overbearing or ineffective communicators. The responsibility to communicate well or effectively is ever present for all who attempt the complex process of intercultural communication.

An extensive bibliography is available from the author, to back up each of the simple communication models suggested here, to delineate the dimensions more explicitly, and to put them into varied training patterns with comprehensive formats. Checklists, or idea-repositories, help describe for all practitioners of intercultural communication those significant principles without which the process is improbable.

Surely those of us who work in any phase of intercultural communication know that unless or until the gap between the IS and the OUGHT-TO-BE is fully closed, there will be more need for understanding and using significant thematic dimensions of intercultural communication as well as all practical resources that can support them.

Reciprocal correspondence is invited. Write: BYU Language Research Center, 267 FB BYU, Provo, Utah 84602.

SOME PRE-EMPIRICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDE MEASUREMENTS AND PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATIONS

Janice C. Hepworth

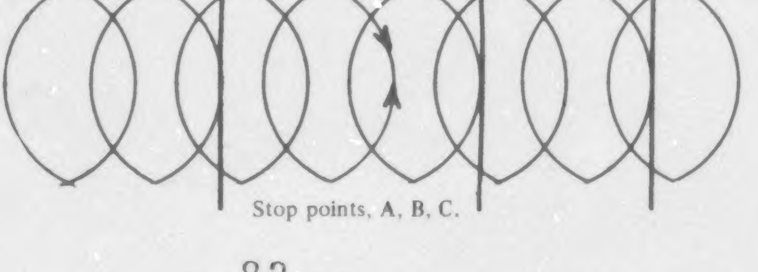
Persuasion is generally thought of as the means by which behavior is changed or reinforced. In spite of the simplicity of the general purpose of persuasion, there is no universal formula to fit scientific criteria so that the results of a persuasive effort can be predicted each time. Replications of American-designed experiments in foreign cultures indicate that, in general, more pre-empirical studies must precede experimentation. Test equivalence in design, content, scoring and interpretation has not been adequately studied.

Generalizing from the results of controlled laboratory or sample population experiments of the American kind to foreign populations requires an inferential leap that is not justified at this stage in cross-cultural research. More field work is necessary to collect and assess ethnographic data from foreign cultures in which experiments are to be conducted. Finally, after instruments for testing have been validated for cross-cultural use, and after a target culture has been studied, experimentation can proceed and the information gained can be utilized by the persuader to maximize his success.

If one assumes that persuasive appeals are directed to attitudes, then the level of observation is no longer concrete or explicit. Copious literature has grown out of the investigation of persuasion and attitude change and the unsatisfactory conclusion of all the research is that the "relationship between concepts of attitude and persuasion remain relatively ambiguous."[1] The reciprocity of persuasion and behavior is equally ambiguous.

Perhaps persuasion must expand its base of investigation and assess intentions, norms, roles and habits of a target population. The complex nature of social constraints on attitudes, such as language, class, occupation, have been largely ignored. There is no scientific formula to gain access to man's mind, but an investigator may edge closer to what is actually going on if he accounts for some external influences. In a communicative sense, feelings and beliefs that are verbally expressed pass through a filter of social constraints so that what is expressed survives as a communicated message. Responses to a likert type scale are essentially communicated messages which have been filtered through individual and social restraints.

Perhaps an attitude does not exist as a subjective phenomenon. Instead, an attitude may be a stop-point on a behavior continuum of an individual. The choice in stop-point reflects the choice of an investigator who through the means of a survey or questionnaire requires a linguistic expression of an arbitrarily chosen point. A behavior continuum may be represented in the following way:



Stop points, A, B, C.

The spiral diagram represents the cluster configuration (loops and connecting links) of concept formation, so that behavior depends on past as well as anticipated events. The context of situation, for experimental purposes, is chosen by the investigator rather than the subject so that a stop-point on the continuum marks an externally conceived concept to which a subject must respond. A subject in an experimental situation is often required to verbalize a feeling or belief that has only random, if any, relation to his evolving cognitive continuum. There are cognitions common to a culture or population that can be used as focal of stop-points. These cognitions can be elicited through testing after the cognitive modes of a particular culture are understood by an investigator. A solution to the ambiguous and often unreliable nature of attitude surveys that employ a criterion type test (made up of items taken from statistical data usually collected in one culture) is suggested in the present inquiry. The recommendation may not solve the problem of how to validate attitude surveys in cross-cultural research, but does suggest a more reliable method.

EQUIVALENCE IN CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR STUDIES

In cross-cultural contexts the field for testing persuasion theories has been greatly expanded, but so has the latitude of interpretation been expanded. After problems in test design, interpretation is the problem that plagues the experimenter in cross-cultural studies of attitudes, behavior and persuasive techniques. The problems of design and interpretation can be minimized if and when more rigorous attention is paid to the planning of cross-cultural research. The question for cross-cultural research can be stated in the following way: Can a persuasion theory be made operational in other cultures without altering the logic of the theory? Przeworski and Teune believe "cross-national analysis requires research procedures that involve caution in order to yield validity in a more differentiated setting."[2]

If a theory is to be tested cross-culturally, certain adaptations in the testing of a theory must be made; that is, the test of the theory must fit the culture. The extent of adaptation to bring about a fit is the most worrisome task in cross-cultural research. "The critical problem," according to Przeworski and Teune "is that of identifying 'equivalent' phenomena and analyzing the relationships between them in an 'equivalent' fashion."[3] The caution is eminently clear while the practical application or actual doing is less clear. In cross-cultural testing the criteria selected is ultimately the choice of an investigator. There is no short cut to the requirement that an investigator must have at least an ethnographer's knowledge of the culture in which he conducts research. Suppose the same attitude survey concerning poverty is submitted to individuals in India and Japan. Do the items of this survey measure attitudes in an identical or equivalent (local definitions of variables) manner in both cultures? Are the indicators of poverty the same in both cultures? An instrument for attitude measurement may not yield very valid results if, in fact, the instrument is the same one used in western cultures. According to Frijda and Jahoda, "Different cultures use different category systems to describe similar phenomena."[4] Because content variables rarely exist in comparable places across cultures, it seems useless to pursue a cross-cultural study with the expectation that these variables will be manifest in the same way (verbal description) or for the same reasons. The substance of cognitions are manifest in a variety of symbolic systems of which language is only one system. A more useful approach requires an investigation of the structure which "refers to the systematic way in which aspects of content are organized and interrelated."[5] Description of a culture is not an end result but rather a pre-empirical requirement.

A review of experiments on self-esteem in various cultures demonstrates the ethnocentric assumption that self-esteem can be elicited by one unmodified measure. Peter Collett takes issue with studies such as the one by Smart and Smart[6] who replicated a western-designed self-esteem questionnaire study among Indian children in Delhi and compared the data with the results of the previous study among American children. The only concession to culture in the Smart and Smart study was a translation of the questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire presumes "that the range of statements available to Americans was equally appropriate for Indian subjects,"[7] and that "the meanings of these statements were the same in America and India, and hence that the choice of a statement was indicative of the same orientation in both cultures."[8] Evidence of differing meaning systems in cross-cultural semantic studies challenges the assumptions and results of the Smart and Smart study.

Collett conducted an experiment to measure the self-esteem of Arabs and Englishmen and to test the general observation that Arabs have an inflated self-esteem. A first experiment determined the "extent to which Arabs and Englishment esteem themselves relative to their personal ideals."[9] Subjects were given a pile of cards each of which contained an English adjective from which a selection was required to describe a personal ideal. Other adjectives could be written in on blank cards. The one immediate criticism of the experiment is that Collett used English as the medium for response. Even though all subjects were conversant in English, the presumption that the same words generate the same expectations for bilinguals is questionable. Paul Kolers' experiment on the information processing of bilingual subjects indicates that "words referring to concrete, manipulable objects were more likely to elicit similar responses in the bilingual person's two languages than abstract words"[10] The implication for Collett's experiment is that as words become more abstract or refer to feelings, a bilingual comes to have different expectations for each of paired words. It is useful to assume caution when reading the results of an experiment among bilinguals which utilizes an affect meaning system of one language.

From the first experiment Collett took twenty-two words most frequently selected as descriptive of the ideal-self among English and Arab subjects. These words were rated by subjects in a second experiment designed to elicit peer comparisons. Results of the experiment confirmed the general expectation that Arabs have a more inflated self-esteem than Englishmen.

There is a personality trait not accounted for in Collett's experiment. Englishmen may not report a covert sense of self-esteem. This reluctance may be part of cultural learning and/or a modal English personality trait. In addition, comparison of the goals and results of the experiment reveals a serious disparity. In some introductory remarks Collett says that his paper "will argue that the requirements for an idiographic science are more easily fulfilled by attention to structural rather than content variables."[11] His experiment is not without content variables for the very design assumes a common meaning system.

Cross-cultural experimentation has polarized some other investigators on what constitutes an appropriate test. The use of translated American-devised tests has been challenged on the grounds that items of the original may not measure the same thing in a foreign culture. Leonard Gordon[12] argues convincingly that construct tests are more valid than criterion tests. The latter tests are devised without prior theorizing and include items gained from statistical data from the culture in which the test originates. Construct tests require prior theorizing; that is, a phenomenon such as self-esteem or respect for authority is measured by appropriate items. A construct test is built through the following steps or process:

1. A construct (theory) is developed that reflects what is to be measured.
2. Test items are devised to measure the construct.
3. Items are pre-tested against the construct among groups of subjects expected to differ in performance.
4. As a result of pre-tests an investigator can guage whether or not the chosen items reflect the construct. If not, the items or the construct must be modified.
5. The next step is to translate the test for cross-cultural use. The translation must be tested and "we must next ascertain that corresponding constructs are measured in the two cultures."[13]
6. Finally the translated construct must be validated. "If it is found to measure construct X adequately in the second culture, we may then proceed with cross-cultural comparison."[14]

The above process of arriving at a construct and items for measurement cannot be omitted in planning tests in foreign cultures. The above criteria must be met if a theory is to be validated through cross-cultural testing.

The problem of how to set up a test to measure personality, attitudes, values or beliefs in a cross-cultural context has permeated all the social sciences. Anthropology[15] has developed another terminology which tags the same problem. An etic construct (theory) is said to be universal or culture-free while testable items are referred to as emic or culture-bound. In this framework an etic construct guides observation and indicators of an etic construct in a target culture must be emically defined. The best operational definition of this concept is found in Osgood's Semantic Differential[16] wherein activity, evaluation and potency represent etic constructs arrived at in much the same way that Gordon proposed in the six step sequence. Incidence of activity, potency and evaluation in a cross-cultural sampling are arrived at by eliciting emic or locally defined items that reflect the construct.

Available ways of measuring attitudes, values, beliefs or personality traits in a cross-cultural study have not been exhausted in the foregoing discussion. The discussion has concentrated upon some major areas of concern: how to develop and ensure a theory of cross-cultural validity and how to confirm or disconfirm a construct through rigorous attention to item selection. All of the above considerations can be called the pre-empirical groundwork to actual testing, scoring and interpretation of results in cross-cultural research. Study of a target culture may reveal the cognitive modes of that culture; that is, how a culture thinks about and expresses certain ideas or subjects of concern. If an attitude assessment of a population or culture is attempted through tests, surveys or questionnaires, then a construct must be developed and the items chosen for response must reflect the construct or goal of the investigation in a target culture. Pre-empirical study of a foreign culture may reveal that a construct is not comparably expressed across cultures. Self-esteem may be verbally expressed in one culture (the base culture or orgin of test) and non-verbally expressed in a foreign culture. Symbolic systems for expression of a construct might be elicited. In this case the target population provides the indicators of the construct rather than the outside investigator.

INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

Differences among cultures in response to persuasive communication have been noticed in several cross-cultural experiments. In general, more study on personality and persuasibility as a cultural phenomenon is needed. Godwin Chu[17] replicated the Janis and Field[18] experiment in Taiwan to determine whether or not differences in core values between American and Chinese students cause the latter to be more persuasible by mass media messages. Chu used a translated version of the Janis and Field procedure with slight modifications in some items and deletions of other items but he employed the same indicators of persuasibility as the original instrument. Among Chinese boys a correlation occurred between persuasibility and "test anxiety and hyper-aggressiveness,"[19] which was contrary to expectations. In general, Chinese students were found to be more persuasible than American students, but Chu suggests that persuasibility may be "part of an integrated personality structure."[20]

Paul Hiniker suggests testing two theories as explanations of "Chinese reaction to Forced Compliance."[21] More specifically Hiniker explored answers to the question: "What is the attitudinal effect on Chinese of making a public statement contrary to private opinion under inducement of an authority figure?"[22] In order to understand Chinese attitudes to forced compliance, Hiniker first examined the characterological theory which builds a modal personality from responses to three self-report items: "conception of self; relation to authority; and ways of dealing with primary conflicts."[23] Dissonance Theory was used by the author as an alternative explanation of Chinese reaction to forced compliance. An impressive corpus of literature confirms the claims of Dissonance Theory in American experiments while Chinese responses in Hiniker's experiment indicate a need for either making modifications in the theory or in the testing procedures. The author notes some cultural bias in Dissonance Theory, particularly in the "follows from"[24] phrase. According to Festinger, "two cognitive elements are in dissonant relation, if the obverse of one element follows from the other."[25] This condition was not met in the expected way in the Chinese experiment.

Hiniker's experiment was carried out in a precise and overall commendable manner. It is one of the most thorough pieces of empirical research reported in cross-cultural studies. Instead of treating the results of the experiment as disconfirmation of Dissonance Theory, cross-cultural experimentation might serve to refine the theory to ensure its universal validity.

Godwin Chu noticed an excessive amount of test anxiety among his Chinese subjects which may be attributed to the novelty of testing among students in Taiwan. Testing among university students is a western tradition which is not usually met with opposition or reluctance. However, individuals from other cultures may not be as willing to submit to tests which may be interpreted as an "unwarranted invasion of their privacy."[26] McGinnies encountered this kind of reaction among Japanese students during his study of attitude change. A modal personality component of privacy was noticed among the Japanese students in that testing was considered an infringement on their privacy and in fact the students requested that their names not appear on the questionnaires.

Other problems thwarted McGinnies' experimental plans. Students at Japanese Universities are not compelled to attend class so that class attendance is sporatic and lateness to class is also an accepted condition. For these reasons, it was difficult to conduct an experiment using a class as a subject group. Relationships between professors and students are formal which is consistent with the formal structure of interpersonal relations in Japan.

The purpose of McGinnies' study was to elicit student attitudes on three subjects: "a) The Cold War; b) the Cuban situation; and c) nuclear-powered submarine visits."[27] The persuasive communications used were pro and con arguments for each issue which were collected from speeches and newspaper editorials.

The knottiest problem concerned the translation of the attitude scales. The problem of translation, as mentioned earlier, is not easily solved where an American-designed test is used in translated form as the instrument. The language consultants, according to McGinnies, "almost invariably disagreed over the proper translations of both the attitude scales and the persuasive communications."[28] The Japanese tranlators used a "hard" style of written Japanese rather than a "soft" style and the Japanese psychologists concurred with the choice. However, the experimenters thought the "soft" style was more appropriate, but the Japanese opinion prevailed.

McGinnies' experiments among Japanese students do not offer conclusions, but do suggest areas for further study. For example, the one-sided versus the two-sided persuasive communication was tested and the experimenters found some evidence to support the latter. Japanese students seem to resist the hardsell approach of the one-sided argument. The resistance may have little to do with the fairness of presenting both sides of an issue, but may be traceable to a Japanese personality trait.

Modal personality structures of foreign subjects may be inaccurately manipulated by American-designed tests. Knowledge of a modal personality structure can be useful to the cross-cultural researcher. Testing in foreign cultures for confirmation of theories such as Dissonance Theory may require alterations in procedures as well as value judgments on results. If results of tests for Dissonance Theory in a foreign culture do not match results of an American subject group, an experimenter may choose one of two alternatives: (1) He may simply assume Dissonance Theory does not work in the foreign culture, or (2) He may, if knowledgable in the foreign culture, review the procedure of the original test and make alterations in procedure and interpretation to fit the foreign culture. After a cultural fit of the test has been assured, then he may assess the results of the test. The validity of cross-cultural research depends heavily on the second alternative. Experimenters should maximize their efforts to assure equivalence in cross-cultural experimentation.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Thomas D. Beisecker and Don W. Parson, "Introduction," in The Process of Social Influence, ed. Thomas D. Beisecker and Don W. Parson (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p.2.

[2] Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, "Equivalence in Cross-National Research," Public Opinion Quarterly (Winter, 1966-67), 552.

[3] Ibid., 553.

[4] N. Frijda and G. Jahoda, "On the Scope and Methods of Cross-Cultural Research," in Cross-Cultural Studies, ed. D. R. Price-Williams (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 37.

[5] Peter Collett, "Structure and Content in Cross-Cultural Studies of Self-Esteem," International Journal of Psychology, 7, 3 (1972), 170.

[6] M. S. Smart and R. C. Smart, "Self-Esteem and Social-Personal Orientation of Indian 12- and 18-year olds," Psychological Reports, 27 (1970), 107-115.

[7] Collett, 171.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 173.

[10] Paul A. Kolers, "Bilingualism and Information Processing," Scientific American (March, 1968), 82.

[11] Collett, 169.

[12] Leonard V. Gordon, "Comments on Cross-Cultural Equivalence of Personality Measures," The Journal of Social Psychology, 75 (1968), 11-19.

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CULTURE AND THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

Jerry D. Boucher

The relationship between culture and emotion is becoming an important and popular topic of study for the cross-cultural researcher. In particular, the use of culture as an independent variable in studies of the nonverbal behavior concomitant with emotional experience is serving to increase our understanding of the interaction between the biological and sociological nature of man. The purpose of this paper is to identify some of the problem areas in the study of nonverbal behavior of emotion, and to discuss the historical evolution of these problems into the present state of the field.

For the first half of this century a debate revolved around the question of whether or not people can accurately and/or reliably identify the emotion shown on a person's face. Landis[1] and Sherman[2] published research results which seemed to show that the face does not provide accurate information about the emotional state of the individual. These studies were criticized on methodological grounds by a number of people, including Davis[3] and Frois-Wittmann[4], but nevertheless, they still continued to be cited[5] and the preponderance of psychological thought was that there is little relationship between the face and emotion. However, in mid-century the opinion started to shift as a result of the increasing number of experiments that showed both reliability (observers consistently agreed on which emotion was shown on a face, regardless of what the person was feeling or attempting to show[6]), and accuracy (observers correctly identifying the emotion a person was feeling or attempting to show[7]). As a result of the more recent research, plus a new look at some of the older published findings[8] there seems little reason to debate the point further: there is definitely a relationship between what a person is feeling, what he can show on his face, and what people think he is feeling. There is, however, a cautionary note to that statement, and that concerns the extent to which people can control their facial behavior. This point will be discussed below.

Since there does seem to be a relationship between facial expression and the experience of emotion, the next question is whether these expressions are learned, or whether they are part of the physiological make-up of the individual. For many years the literature[9] has tended to support the view that emotion expression is learned and therefore there is no necessary expectation that similar expressions will occur in different cultures. However, a common problem in the literature is that the writers have often neglected to distinguish the nonverbal behavior of emotion from other forms of nonverbal behavior, such as gestures, which are more akin to language, and are quite likely learned. They have also often failed to distinguish between the expression of the experienced emotion, and the expression resulting from the control of the experienced emotion. And further, the apparent fact that the same stimulus event can cause the experience of different emotions in different cultures has misled many people into assuming that the same emotion was experienced in the different cultures, but different facial expressions co-occurred with that experience. A number of recent studies[10] have shown that if these problems are avoided, facial expressions of emotion are the same in many different cultures: when a person is feeling sad and he is making no attempt to camouflage his feelings, he has the same facial expression whether he lives, for example, in North America, Japan, New Guinea, or Malaysia.

The increasing amount of evidence for universal similarities of facial expression points more toward a biological theory and less to a learning theory explanation of facial expression. Support for this position can be drawn from studies which have demonstrated the presence of facial expressions of emotion in blind children, which are quite like the expressions of seeing adults.[11] Students of animal behavior have shown that the higher primates, at least, have well developed repertoires of facial expressions which act as signals to other animals, and these expressions often bear remarkable similarities to human expressions.[12] Indeed, not only is the evidence strong for a physiological theory of emotion expression, but further, Darwin's[13] theory that facial expressions in man are evolved from lower animals is being taken quite seriously.[14]

But if the evidence points toward a theory of facial expression and emotion that presumes a neurophysiological basis, such as the theory proposed by Tomkins[15], what do we do about the knowledge that we all share regarding the ability of the individual to control his facial behavior? The "neuro-cultural" theory, proposed by Ekman and Friesen[16] puts these elements together, essentially stating that facial expression is one of the biological substrates of emotion in the individual, but that one learns stimuli for triggering specific emotions, and one learns how to modify the resulting behaviors. Thus all people share the same neurophysiological elements corresponding to fear, for example, but they can learn what to be afraid of, and they can learn how and when to manage their fear behavior when the emotion is experienced.

A cross-cultural example which illustrates the theory occurred while Bob (an American visiting Malaysia) was riding with Mat (a Malay) in Mat's new car. The car broke down, Mat became quite angry, and Bob had no trouble decoding Mat's facial expression of anger. Later on, Mat's father-in-law berated Mat as a fool for buying a car that would break down so soon, but to Bob's surprise, Mat did not become visibly angry at the father-in-law's abuse. When Bob asked him about it afterwards, Mat admitted that he had indeed been very angry, but he could not display his anger to his father-in-law, since that would be incorrect by Malay custom. Thus, when the experienced emotion was displayed, there was no communication difficulty across the two cultures, but when one culture dictated that the experienced emotion was not to be displayed, there was loss of communication.

Mat's hiding his anger feelings in the second episode is an illustration of what are termed "display rules" in the neuro-cultural theory. The prediction of the theory is that every culture develops rules about how, when and where a person can or cannot display his emotions. Mat told Bob, in effect, that there is a display rule in the Malay culture that states that a son-in-law cannot display anger to his father-in-law. Of course, the rule might be that a younger man cannot display anger (or any emotion) to an older man, or it might even be that a Malay should not display emotion in front of a foreigner. More would have to be known about emotion in the Malay culture to specify the particular rules in force during the above situation.

Effective communication between members of different cultures depends upon a good deal more than knowing the other person's spoken language: the correct use of nonverbal behavior is also important. Just as the proper understanding of the semantics of a language is necessary to transmit or receive the affective content of a message spoken in that language, so understanding of the nonverbal behavior of emotion and the rules governing the display of this behavior in a culture bears on interpretation. For this reason, the study of display rules takes on a practical importance. The incorrect or inappropriate modulation of one's affective display may nullify or distort the message sent in the verbal mode. Although such a miscommunication could occur during any interpersonal interaction, the chance that it may occur increases greatly if the interaction is between members of different cultures. In a cross-cultural interaction it is likely that the signal-to-noise ratio in the communication channel between the interactants will increase as a function of the extent to which one or more of the interactants is aware that display rules exist, and even more so to the extent to which these rules are known.

The study of display rules is beginning to interest a number of cross-cultural researchers. For example, Friesen[17] has shown that emotionally aroused Japanese inhibit much of their facial behavior when in the presence of others, but when alone they display expressions recognizable to Americans. And Boucher[18] has work in progress aimed at delineating some of the parameters of display rules in Malay culture. Practical applications of the results of these and other studies are beginning to appear. For example, a number of teachers of foreign language are incorporating nonverbal behavior into their syllabi, with one element -- although not usually identified as such -- being display rules. During the summer of 1974 the East-West Culture Learning Institute in Hawaii hosted participants from some fifteen countries in a three-week program focusing on nonverbal behavior and cross-cultural interaction. A major concern of the program was to develop an awareness in the participants of both the universal and culturally-determined elements of emotion expression, and their effects upon cross-cultural interaction.

The results of studies of culture differences and similarities in emotion expression should be of particular interest to those persons engaged in training persons for a sojourn in another culture. Many such trainers -- for example, Peace Corps trainers -- have already shown an interest in nonverbal behavior, and have often included instruction on how to read and produce the gestures and body behaviors of the new culture. A worthwhile addition to any such training program would be a discussion of the problems of encoding, decoding and modulation of facial affective behavior. The fact that there are universals as well as cultural differences in such expression makes the problem of potential misunderstanding particularly acute. A person is sure to see familiar facial behavior in another culture, and given no other input, he is likely to decode that behavior according to his own scheme. At times he will be correct, but at other times he will not be correct. Forewarning of this difficulty could help him to develop his sensitivity to display rules so that he can still use the very important nonverbal channel of communication with less chance of misunderstanding.

And finally just as a major impetus for much of the previous work on the nonverbal behavior of emotion has come from members of the mental health professions looking for more and better diagnostic and communicative skill, so the modern trend toward cultural awareness in therapy and counseling should surely stimulate more research into the culture-dependent elements of emotion expression. Successful psychiatric intervention depends to a large extent upon accurate assessment of the affective state of the client, and the cross-cultural counselor is at a disadvantage if he does not know the display rules governing facial expression in the client's culture. A unifying theory, such as the neuro-cultural theory, should help clarify the issues by identifying the physiological constants and cultural variables of emotion expression, and thus generate productive research leading to practical applications.

NOTES

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[3] R.C. Davis, "The Specificity of Facial Expressions," *Journal of General Psychology*, 10(1934), 42-58.

[4] Jean Frois-Wittman, "The Judgment of Facial Expression," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 13(1930), 113-151.

[5] For example, in the very influential review by Jerôme S. Bruner & Renato Tagiuri, "The Perception of People," in G. Lindzey (Ed.) *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol 2, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954) pp. 634-654.

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[9] e.g., Ray L. Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970); Satoshi Ishii, "Characteristics of Japanese Nonverbal Communicative Behavior," *Communication Journal of the Communication Association of the Pacific*, special issue, 1973 Fall Conference, 2, No. 3 November, 1973; and Weston LaBarre, "The Cultural Basis of Emotions and Gestures," *Journal of Personality*, 16(1947), 49-68.

[10] e.g. Jerry D. Boucher, "Facial Behavior and the Perception of Emotion: Studies of Malays and Temuan Orang Asli," Paper presented to the Conference on Psychology and Related Disciplines in Malaysia, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1973; Paul Ekman, E. Richard Sorenson, & Wallace V. Friesen, "Pan-Cultural Elements in Facial Displays of Emotion," *Science*, 164, No. 3875 (1969) 86-88; and Carroll E. Izard, *The Face of Emotion* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971).

[11] e.g., Daniel G. Freedman, "Smiling in Blind Infants and the Issue of Innate vs. Acquired," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 5(1964), 171-184; J.S. Fulcher, "'Voluntary' Facial Expression in Blind and Seeing Infants," *Archives of Psychology* 38, No. 272 (1942); and Jane Thompson, "Development of Facial Expression of Emotion in Blind and Seeing Children," *Archives of Psychology*, 37, No. 264 (1941).

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[16] Paul Ekman & Wallace V. Friesen, "The Repetoire of Nonverbal Behavior – Categories, Origins, Usage and Coding," Semiotica, 1 (1969), 49-98; and Paul Ekman, "Universals and Cultural Differences in Facial Expressions of Emotion," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

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THE INFLUENCE OF SPEAKER DIALECT AND SEX ON STEREOTYPIC ATTRIBUTION

Michael G. Ryan

The long history of immigration to North America has led to the existence of multiple foreign accented English dialect groups in the United States. The adoption of the English language characterized the assimilation patterns of these new Americans, and their English speech retained the vocal characteristics of their native tongue. The process continues today and one may discover German dialects of English, Italian dialects of English, French dialects of English, and Spanish dialects of English within the United States. In addition to these dialects, Americans interact with other non-native English speakers such as foreign visitors and nationals both through interpersonal and mass media.

The function of dialects in the communication setting is a socially meaningful question for speech communication researchers. The vocal patterns due to varying dialects and their role in the process of communication is the primary focus of this study. More specifically, we asked the following research question: What influence does dialect English speech have on interaction with standard American English auditors? The study investigated the relationship between speaker dialect and sex on stereotypic attribution. Obviously, any answer to a research question such as the above has direct import to intercultural communication.

Dialect and Sterotypic Trait Attribution

A number of studies have manipulated spoken dialect and measured the traits attributed to dialect speakers by auditors. Attribution applies to the "process whereby people attribute characteristics, intentions, feelings, and traits to the objects of their social world (Kanouse, 1972, p. 47)."

Dialect, on the other hand, refers to the variations in the phonological and syntactic patterns commonly associated with sub-groups within one language community. American English includes socio-economic dialect groups, regional dialect groups, racial dialect groups, and foreign accented English dialect groups. The universal finding suggests that dialect influences the qualities attributed to a speaker. This finding emerges from the accent research which has direct import for this study; indirectly from the foreign language and ethnic dialect research; and from the socio-economic dialect research the inclusion of which attests to the pervasiveness of the phenomenon.

ACCENT RESEARCH. Two projects manipulated foreign accented English dialect and measured the attributed traits. Subjects rated Jewish accented English speakers lower on the dimensions of height, appearance, and qualities of leadership than the same person using standard English speech (Anisfeld, Bogo, and Lambert, 1962). Likewise, subjects rated a female speaker as being shorter, less good looking, and less self confident when she used a Spanish accented English guise than when she used a standard English guise (Ryan, 1972).

LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC DIALECT RESEARCH. Hebrew listeners rated speakers' Arab guise lower than their Hebrew guise and the results reversed for Arab listeners. Altered reactions also evolved when the switch involved a change from Sephardic to Ashkenazic style Hebrew for Israeli listeners (Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Koshiam, 1965). In an ethnic dialect study Tucker and Lambert (1969) compared the effects of southern American style English speech to what the linguists call "Standard Network Style" English and found that the Southern Negro had more favorable impressions of speakers who used standard English speech.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS DIALECT RESEARCH. A person's speech carries class markers as reported by Putnam and O'Hern (1955), Harms (1961, 1963), and Labov (1966). Williams (1970) revealed that semantic differential type responses of school teachers to children of varying social and ethnic dialects factored into two dimensions: the confidence-eagerness dimension and the ethnicity-non-standardness dimension. He concluded that teachers made serous judgments on factors such as speech and appearance. Several others have tested the accuracy of social class attribution based on vocal ones. Putnam and O'Hern (1955), Harms (1961, 1963), and Moe (1972) conclude that most listeners can correctly place a speaker into his social class.

Sex and Attribution

Perhaps Addington (1971) has provided the most extensive description of the attributed qualities of male and female speech. He manipulated the breathiness, tenseness, thinness, flatness, throatiness, nasality, orotundity, pitch, and rate of male and female speakers and charted the reactions of auditors. For example, listeners perceived breathy male voices as youthful and artistic while they perceived breathy female voices as feminines, beautiful, polite, effervescent, and shallow. He concluded that "vocal manipulations of females were more effective in altering personality ascriptions than were those of males (p. 495)."

Dialect, Sex and Attribution

Both dialect and sex apparently should influence attribution. The literature cited above suggests that standard English speech should elicit more positive stereotypic traits than foreign accented English speech and that males should elicit slightly more positive ratings than females. However, a sex-by-dialect interaction appears to influence minority code trait attribution. Both majority and minority linguistic codes rate minority code female speakers more positively than minority code male speakers. Three studies attest to the positive stereotypic ratings elicited by the French or French accented English female speaker, as contrasted to the French Canadian male (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardiner, and Fillenbaum, 1960; Preston, 1963, Larimer, 1972). Moreover, Preston demonstrated that subjects rated French Canadian female speakers as generally more confident, intelligent, and ambitious than English Canadian females. Larimer compared Canadians' reactions to 12 accents and female French accented English speech rated higher than 10, falling just short of the rating attributed to the Oxford English accent.

The review of the literature suggests the conceptual framework for a set of eight research hypotheses, some of which are non-directional while others are directional. The non-directional hypotheses (1 and 2) reflect the literature which suggests that American listeners will respond differently to dialects of English as well as the sex of the speaker. Specific research projects reviewed above also provide the bases for the directional predictions found in certain hypotheses (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). These directional hypotheses predict that female English French accented English dialect speech will elicit more positive reactions than the remaining dialect-sex treatments.

ATTRIBUTION HYPOTHESES. Based on the writer's conclusions from the literature review, the following set of attribution hypotheses were advanced:

H_1 There will be a significant difference in stereotypic attribution between dialect English speech and standard American English speech.

H_2 There will be a significant difference in stereotypic attribution between male and female speech.

H_3 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to standard American English speech than to French accented English speech.

H_4 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to standard American English speech than to Spanish accented English speech.

H_5 There will be significantly more positve stereotypic attribution to French accented English speech than to Spanish accented English speech.

H_6 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to male standard English speech than to female standard English speech.

H_7 There will be significantly more positive stereotypes attributed to female French accented English speech than to male French accented English speech.

H_8 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to female Spanish accented English speech than to male Spanish accented English speech.

Procedures

SUBJECTS. The subjects (n=140) were students enrolled in the inter-disciplinary and social sciences courses at Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts during the fall semester of 1973.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE. Seven classes (n=20) from the population of interdisciplinary and social science courses were randomly selected for this study. Six randomly chosen classes of the seven received the experimental manipulations while the seventh class served as a control group. A one way ANOVA over the pretest attitude means served as the randomization check. In addition, the homogeneity of variance assumption was checked utilizing the F-Max test statistic. Neither reached significance (p (0.05) so the sample was retained.

TESTING PROCEDURE. The manipulation involved operationalization of a treatment audio tape played at 3.5 IPS and at standard volume setting on a Wollensak portable tape recorded. The experimenter (a senior student who was unaware of the predictions) then distributed a response booklet, including the attribution scale.

Variables

ATTRIBUTION: THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE. By definition attribution refers to the application of traits of the objects of our social world. Accordingly, subjects responded to one of three sets of five-item stereotypic trait scales (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardiner and Fillenbaum, 1960; Anisfeld, Bogo, and Lambert, 1962; Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964; and Gardiner, Wonnacott, and Taylor, 1968; Ryan, 1972). The scale has been used to measure reactions of auditors to both French and Spanish accented English speech and recommends itself for the purposes of this study. It was especially appropriate for this project as this study and its pretest (Ryan, 1972) were designed as tests of the generalizability of the Canadian findings of the Lambert research team.

The items on the sets of trait scales included those items which loaded on stereotypic factors underlying standard accented English speech (Appendix A), French accented English speech (Appendix B), and Spanish accented English speech (Appendix C) in a prior factor analytic study (Ryan, 1974). This process yielded scale items of high power and reduced the chances of concept-scale interaction factors which more than compensated for any lack of comparability between sets of scale items.

The stereotypic items adopted the form of seven response option semantic differential type scales. Positive and negative poles were randomly ordered to avoid potential left or right response bias. Coding ranged from negative to positive such that a score at the negative pole received a numerical value of one and a score at the positive pole received a numerical value of seven. The attribution score of each subject under each treatment condition was summed prior to analysis yielding a range of possible scores from five to 35.

DIALECT AND SEX: THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES. Adopting the matched guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardiner, and Fillenbaum, 1960) one trilingual male and one trilingual female instructor from the University of Oklahoma both encoded a two-minute persuasive speech three times. First, each instructor encoded the stimulus speech in standard English; then, in French accented English, and finally, in Spanish accented English. This process yielded six experimental variations in the message: one standard English male presentation, one standard English female presentation, one French accented English male presentation, one French accented English female presentation, one Spanish accented English male presentation, and one Spanish accented English female presentation.

In order to assure the reliability of the treatments, several students from the research population rated each foreign-accented English dialect tape on two six response option semantic differential type scales. The first scale was anchored by the concepts 'standard English' with a coded value of six. The second scale was anchored by the concept 'not identifiable' valued at one and 'identifiable' valued at six. A critical mean value of 4.5 or above was obtained on each scale measuring the reaction to each treatment tape. The standard 0.80 criterion correlation was used for evaluating the result of Spearman rank order coefficient between the accent scale and the identifiability scale reactions to each accent. Stimulus tapes which failed to meet the criteria were rerecorded and retested. The six treatment tapes were of two-minute duration at 3.5 IPS utilizing a Wollensak portable tape recorder.

Analysis of the Data

An after-only design was adopted for the stereotypic attribution study in an effort to lower error due to subject fatigue and sensitivity to scales.

A two factor (3 x 2) analysis of variance design was used to test the main effects to dialect and sex predicted in hypotheses. Directional tests were used to test for the simple effects predicted in hypotheses $H_{3\text{-}8}$. Schaffe's tests were used as the POST HOC technique to investigate interaction effects and non-hypothesized relationships if the main effects reached significance. The 0.05 level of significance was used for interpretation of all statistical results of this study.

Results

ATTRIBUTION RESULTS. The data analysis supports four of the eight research hypotheses predicting the influence of dialect and sex on stereotypic attribution.

The first hypothesis stated:

H_1 There will be a significant difference in stereotypic attribution between dialect English speech and standard American English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a three-by-two analysis of variance was calculated on the influence of dialect and sex on attribution. The dialect main effect was significant (F=7.92; df=2, 114; p.$<$.05; see Table 1). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was rejected, and the research hypothesis was accepted.

The second hypothesis stated:

H_2 There will be a significant difference in stereotypic attribution between male and female speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a three-by-two analysis of variance was calculated on the influence of dialect and sex on attribution. The sex main effect did not reach significance (F=.02; df=1, 114; p$>$.05; see Table 1). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The third hypothesis stated:

H_3 There will be a significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to standard American English speech than to French accented English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare reactions to standard American speech and French accented English speech. The t-test found a significant difference (t=7.88; df=78; p$>$.05; see Table 2). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was rejected, and the research hypothesis was accepted.

TABLE 1

TWO BY THREE ANOVA OF DIALECT AND SEX ON ATTRIBUTION

SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	F-RATIO
BETWEEN	647.48	5	129.50	
DIALECT	343.36	2	171.68	7.92*
SEX	.40	1	.40	.02
DIALECT X SEX INTERACTION	303.72	2	151.86	7.00*
WITHIN	2471.86	114	21.68	
TOTAL	3119.35	119	26.21	

*P .05

TABLE 2

t TESTS BETWEEN DIALECT GROUPS ON STEREOTYPIC ATTRIBUTION

GROUPS	MEAN_1	STANDARD DEVIATION	MEAN_2	STANDARD DEVIATION	t
ENGLISH-FRENCH	25.13	6.23	21.03	4.05	7.88*
ENGLISH-SPANISH	25.13	6.23	23.40	3.77	3.31*
FRENCH-SPANISH	21.03	4.05	23.40	3.77	4.56*

*P .05

The fourth hypothesis stated:

H_4 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to standard American English speech than to Spanish accented English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare the attribution reactions to standard American English speech and Spanish accented English speech. The t-test did not show a significant difference ($t=3.31$; $df=78$; $p>.05$; see Table 2). On the basis of this test the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The fifth hypothesis stated:

H_5 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to French accented English speech than to Spanish accented English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare the reactions of auditors to French accented English speech and Spanish accented English speech. The t-test found a significant difference in the opposite direction ($t=4.56$; $df=72$; $p>.05$; see Table 2). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The sixth hypothesis stated:

H_6 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to male standard English speech than to female standard English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare the attribution elicited by male standard English speech and female standard English speech. A t-test found a significant difference ($t=6.04$; $df=38$; p[illegible]05; see Table 3). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was rejected, and the research hypothesis was accepted.

The seventh hypothesis stated:

H_7 There will be significantly more positive stereotypes attributed to female French accented English speech than to male French accented English speech.

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare the attribution elicited by female French accented English speech and male French accented English speech. The t-test found a significant difference ($t=4.14$; $df=38$; $p<.05$; see Table 3). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was rejected and the research hypothesis was accepted.

The eighth hypothesis stated:

H_8 There will be significantly more positive stereotypic attribution to female Spanish accented English speech than to male Spanish accented English speech.

TABLE 3

t TESTS BETWEEN DIALECT–SEX GROUPS ON STEREOTYPIC ATTRIBUTION

GROUPS	MEAN_1	STANDARD DEVIATION	MEAN_2	STANDARD DEVIATION	t
ENGLISH MALE-FEMALE	27.35	4.99	22.90	6.54	6.04*
FRENCH MALE-FEMALE	19.50	3.07	22.55	4.32	4.14*
SPANISH MALE-FEMALE	22.90	4.00	23.90	4.28	1.36

*$P < .05$

In order to test this hypothesis, a t-test was used to compare the attribution elicited by female Spanish accented English speech and male Spanish accented English speech. The t-test did not show a significant difference (t=1.36; df=38; p>.05; see Table 3). On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that one's dialect influences the stereotypes attributed by listeners. Thus, standard English speech elicited significantly more positive stereotypes than French and Spanish accented English speech. In turn, Spanish accented English elicited significantly more positive stereotypes than French accented English speech. The negative stereotypes elicited by French and Spanish accented English speech appears to coincide with the stereotypic reactions of majority code members to minority code speech patterns in studies by Anisfeld, Bogo, and Lambert (1962), Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Koshiam (1965), Tucker and Lambert (1969), Williams (1970), and Williams, Whitehead, and Miller (1971).

The difference in the quality of stereotypic attribution between the Spanish and the French dialects deserves note. Contrary to prediction, the Spanish accented English dialect elicited significantly more positive reactions than did the French accented dialect. The prediction was based on Ryan's (1972) finding that French accented female speech elicited higher ratings on expertise, reliability, intelligence, and qualification than did the Spanish accented speaker who was perceived as timid, hesitant, weak, passive, and unqualified. These differences emerged only after item analysis and it should be noted that the study did not find any overall significant difference in stereotypic attribution between the two dialect groups.

A dialect-by-sex interaction similar to that found by Larimer (1972) appeared in respect to stereotypic attribution. According to Larimer, dialect-by-sex interaction exists in situations where male standard English speech elicits more positive stereotypes than female standard English speech, while female dialect English speech elicits more positive stereotypic reactions than male dialect English speech. In this study, standard English male speech elicited significantly more positive stereotypic reactions than female standard English speech, while female French accented English speech elicited significantly more positive stereotypes than male French accented English speech. A similar non-significant relationships held between female and male Spanish accented English dialect speech.

This study has demonstrated that group related language characteristics influence the reaction of listeners. The findings support findings of prior research and contribute by adding significant detail to knowledge in the area. The study also stops short of delineating the exact implication of the speaker's language characteristics on the listener's communication behavior. Such an endeavor should be the focus of subsequent studies in sociolinguistics and communications.

Appendix A

Please rate the speaker on the following scales

confident ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : unconfident

unfriendly ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : friendly

interesting ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : uninteresting

poor disposition ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : good disposition

helpful ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : non-helpful

Appendix B

Please rate the speaker on the following scale.

not amusing ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : amusing

religious ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : irreligious

unkind ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : kind

friendly ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : unfriendly

foolish ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : ___ : wise

Appendix C

Please rate the speaker on the following scales.

good looking ___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ : not good looking

not amusing ___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ : amusing

intelligent ___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ : unintelligent

unfriendly ___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ : friendly

good disposition ___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ :___ : poor disposition

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BEYOND TOLERANCE:
World Communication Technology and The Local Cultural Structures of Man
L.S. Harms

INTRODUCTION

Everyone has the Right to Communicate.

Those six words, spoken in that order, prompt affirmative statements from persons of widely different cultural backgrounds. But, as we attempt to look more closely at that claim, almost immediately, questions arise. These questions are interwoven with our view of ourselves both as communicating members in a sociocultural group, and as individual human communicators.

When we say that everyone has the Right to Communicate, do we mean only those "good people like us" who live nearby and communicate with us frequently? Or, do we include on an "equal rights" basis all those strangers who live out of earshot on the other side of the world? By everyone, can we mean all of the nearly four billion people who share the resources of this planet with us?

In a Right to Communicate, must we mean the term Right in the sense it is used in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed by the United Nations on December 10, 1948? Is a Right an idealized statement on how things might be in some alternative utopia? Might that Right be a long-range goal of Mankind? Should a Right to Communicate be a fundamental moral claim embedded in cultural practices community by community around the world? Should it be embodied in a worldwide system of positive law with world courts? Or should we lament that the question is so complex that mere earthlings such as we cannot develop answers to it? Should there be an unrestrained, self-determined, unquestionable Right NOT to Communicate?

And what of human communication? Do we espouse one of the hundred available definitions of communication? Do we view communication from a one-way mass media perspective? Ought we to examine it from a two-way interchange perspective? Must we define communication in a new way?

Underlying all of these probes is another set of fundamental questions relating to the relationship between communication and culture. Large scale intercultural communication is a relatively new thing on this planet. How much of it is too much? If cultural diversity is to be maintained, what is an appropriate balance between intracultural communication and intercultural communication?

More generally, must we answer our present questions about intercultural and international communication before we develop a multicultural world view? Is it possible to assess the impact of world communication technology from a monocultural base?

These are but a few of the questions that arise when we claim that everyone has the Right to Communicate. A few years ago, it was fashionable to say that we should be tolerant of differences. After all, those other people who had the misfortune to differ from ourselves were more to be pitied than scorned. And if we bothered to study the matter, we emphasized the errors they made as they tried to communicate with us on our terms. This "tolerant" view is a part of our recent history still evident in collections on intercultural communication.

The Right of each human to Communicate depends on the Right of all humans to Communicate with each other. To live together in an interdependent world requires that we take a giant step BEYOND TOLERANCE. That step is made possible by World Communication Technology, and made necessary by the tension that arises between that technology and the structures of communication and culture in each local community.

WORLD COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

May 17, 1974, TODAY, is World Telecommunication Day. This event is sponsored by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in Geneva, the oldest of the United Nations specialized agencies. The ITU was formed in 1865 to deal with the then new technology of the telegraph. The movement of messages across national frontiers in Europe was a new problem. At the French/German frontier, for instance, a telegraph had to be typed out, hand carried across the frontier and re-transmitted, a costly process. Thus, basic agreements on equipment interface standards and message handling were worked out. From these modest beginnings, a world agency developed that is instructive to students of communication for several reasons.

In its century long history, the International Telecommunication Union has evolved from a limited concern with telegraph technology to include the many other communication technologies that have followed, in particular, telephone, radio, television and satellite. As it has done so, the ITU focus has shifted from concern with particular items of hardware to a concern with world communication networks.

As you know, as few as three communication satellites provide the basic capacity for a world communication network. Such a network can handle two-way voice, such as telephone, television broadcasts, facsimile, and data transmission. In other words, a world network is forged from what used to be considered even a year or two ago, a collection of separate technologies. The change is subtle but significant and I think is reflected today in the curious fact that the INTERNATIONAL Telecommunication Union sponsors the celebration of a WORLD Telecommunication Day.

The theme for the celebration this year is telecommunication and transportation. I cannot think of a more important theme for intercultural communication. For as soon as one recognizes that a world telecommunication network exists and operates, it becomes apparent that a second world network also exists – a world transportation network. That network also has its U.N. agency, the International Air Transport Association, headquartered in Montreal.

At present, we are likely to take the operation of both the world telecommunication network and the world transportation network for granted. Quite casually, we place an international phone call to Mexico City or Ottawa or Singapore or Paris. We tune in satellite live television broadcasts of special events of world interest wherever they occur. We travel to an airport and fly off to Tokyo or London or Delhi without first asking if those places have airports where the plane can land. Curiously, travelers often speak not of city names but of going into Haneda, or Heathrow or Palam.

For the person interested in communication among persons of different cultural backgrounds, these two world communication networks that I have identified in my most recent books on communication as the TELECOMNET and the TRANSCOMNET pose basic questions. The capacity of both networks is demand limited. That is, the capacity can be made to increase as needs are known. The energy crisis, however, places a restraint on air travel – probably a temporary one. The critical matter is that it raises the cost of air travel. At present, the price of a Round-Trip-World air ticket is in the ball park of a month's salary for persons who earn around $15,000 or more per year. The satellite by contrast tends to make distance all but irrelevant in terms of operational cost but not yet in terms of charges. As telecommunication charges are reduced, the future prospects are that more of the world's people will be able to afford it, and telecommunication will become increasingly important for intercultural communication.

Two Honolulu based operations provide convenient examples of the transcomnet and the telecomnet. The East-West Center over the course of a year brings some 2,000 persons into meetings and conferences in Honolulu, mostly from Asia and the U.S. mainland. Almost all arrive by jet, enter through the gateway of the Honolulu International Airport, stay and communicate interculturally for a few weeks, months or years, and fly home. By contrast the PEACESAT Network (PanPacific Education and Communication Experiments by Satellite) provides a two-way telecommunication link for decentralized meetings or teleconferences among persons at a dozen locations across the Pacific. When one realizes that some of the conference meetings that use the telecommunication and transportation networks consider the same problems such as population, ocean resource management, information sharing, etc., one comes to ask in what senses these two networks are equivalent or interchangeable for the purposes of communication.

The fundamental question is to what extent telecommunication network capacity can be traded for transportation network capacity when the goal is purposeful human communication. Rather than ask what the "loss" would be by telecommunication, we begin to inquire what purposes are better served, can only be served by telecommunication. The answers that develop clearly bear on both the quantity and quality of intercultural communication in this world.

The world communication networks – telecomnet and transcomnet – have taken shape recently, in large part since 1970. These structures have grown in response to the demands of big government and big business. At present, these networks have grown so large that they are beyond the capabilities of any single national or regional group to maintain or manage. Thus, world agencies and world consortia such as Intelsat have come into being. They are no longer international; they have become worldwide, global, planetary.

The communication network structures have several important characterisitics. First, they are centered in the northern hemisphere. Second, a small number of large cities serve as regional communication centers and these centers are linked by heavy trunk lines. Thus, it is comparatively easy to phone or fly to London if you live in New York, Honolulu, or Hong Kong; it is less easy today if you live in Saipan, or Tashkent, or Colombo.

The point is that where you live in the world determines your access to the two communication networks. They are uneven in distribution. Is the fact that some communities are out of the mainstream a desirable development? For instance, should we support the development of "cultural sanctuaries." That access pattern does profoundly affect one's Right to Communicate.

LOCAL CULTURAL STRUCTURES

Those of us who work at the interface between culture and communication often wrestle with statements of the relationship between communication and culture. Since about 1970, three important and probably irreversible trends have become noticeable.

The first trend is related to the growth of world communication technology: the emergence of a global communication infrastructure. That infrastructure is increasingly unaffected by earth distance. It moves men and messages with such ease that the travel or telecommunication time is but a fleeting moment when measured against the hours and days in a seventy five year human life. We rapidly approach a time when any two or several men anywhere in the world might in a few seconds telecommunicate with each other, and within a few hours might transcommunicate with each other, at least at an airport coffee shop in a neutral city. The first trend includes an increase in the number of contacts, and the variety in contacts among and between the people of the world. One should note the experience of telecommunication planners. As they increase long distance capacity and reduce charges a bit, user demand increases. Those planners consistently underestimate demand. There is no known way, for example, of estimating the demand for long-distance, reliable two-way telecommunication.

A second trend is the growth of WORLD ORGANIZATIONS. That growth has been evident since about 1945, and has accelerated since about 1970. The United Nations itself is a good example. So are its many specialized agencies. Add to this the multinational companies such as IBM, Mitsubishi and Phillips. Consider the growth in religious service organizations such as the Mormon Church in the Pacific Finally, observe the growth in professional academic associations such as the newly globalized International Communication Association and the London-based International Broadcast Institute. These organizations depend on the world communication infrastructure. Before it existed, they could neither organize nor operate. I shall mention the U.N. University a bit later.

A third trend is toward BICULTURALISM. Up to this point, I have been talking about the pull of world technology toward a world community, a world culture. The global outlook seems dominated by the transfer, exchange, and interchange of INFORMATION. A second pull is toward a revival of the local cultures in the small communities of man. This part of the bicultural readjustment seems to center on small human ASSOCIATIONS – family, neighborhood groupings, ethnic enclaves and the like. This cultural resurgence has been evident in many kinds of communities in the world – the neighborhoods of Singapore, the Republics of Russia, the tribes of Nigeria and also in multicultural Hawaii.

Others have put the matter somewhat differently. Futurists Theobald, McHale and Clarke forecast a political world of two levels: a world government and many local governments. Anthropologist Bohannan speaks of a two-story culture. The upstairs culture, a technologically facilitated world-view, a global culture to which many men contribute and by which all men are affected; and in sharp contrast, a downstairs culture of the little, the local, and the community specific patterns. Others such as U Thant have been concerned with a fragile orthodoxy of nationalism as it is pulled at the same time in two directions.

The point that emerges is that as of today it has become BOTH too narrow and too broad to concentrate on international and intercultural communication. Yet, we do not know if it is possible to develop a multi-cultural worldview – and what the consequences of such a perspective might be.

Before examining the matter of TOLERANCE and the unthought of possibilities that lie beyond it, it will be helpful to consider briefly where we are and how we got here. I am aware of alternative explanations and respect them.

According to a "big bang" theory, our universe began some thirteen billion years ago. Our star system, which Cornell astronomer Carl Sagan suggests is in the galactic boondocks, took shape about 4.5 billion years ago. More specifically, our planet has a life expectancy of about nine billion years, and it is now middle aged. For about two billion years, some form of life has been supported on earth. Speculative anthropology suggests life somewhat like ourselves has been supported by earth resources for about three or four million years. Probably, it has been possible for man to communicate with his fellow man through speech and gesture for about a half-million years. With interpersonal communication, as Dan Lacy notes, human history begins.

I consider the beginning of interpersonal communication to be the beginning of human history because we humans so consistently point to our capacity for communication as that one thing which defines our human uniqueness. Washoe and Peter and HAL raise new questions about the communication capacity of HOMO SAPIENS. We believe we communicate each other into humanness. We communicate our cultural heritage. We recognize the multiple links between communication and culture. We become aware that a change in communication structures results in a change in cultural structures. Significantly, it is no longer clear that cultural structures change a world communication infrastructure very much.

Dan Lerner and many others presume that up until about 1750, the local cultural communities of man around the world were remarkable for their similarity. They were largely agricultural communities, and cities were mainly trade centers. While the technology of writing and reading dates to 3000 B.C., it was an elitist development. Only a few men and fewer women learned to read and write. Only after Gutenberg developed the printing press about 1450 A.D. in Mainz, Germany, did a next important technology come into being. Not until three hundred years later in England, about 1750, was the "penny press" to begin the print revolution that continues to this day. It is no accident that the printing press and the industrial revolution came together. From 1850, telegraph, telephone, television, cable, computer and satellite along with train, car and airplane came in rapid succession. Forged together, these technologies constitute a global communication infrastructure. And, since about 1970, that infrastructure has led to the development of a post-industrial society, which Robert Theobald calls the Communication Era.

In today's world we must examine the resilience of human cultures. Are the little local cultural structures of man comparable to a hybrid flower, capable of tolerating only a limited change in conditions? Or are they more like the hardy weed that will burst through the first crack in concrete? Or will they in the future grow in ways which combine their uniqueness with new inputs?

BEYOND TOLERANCE

As you know, in English the term tolerance has three usual meanings: first, to show sympathy or indulgence for beliefs and practices differing from one's own; second, to allow deviation from some standard; and third, to assess the relative capacity to endure or adapt physiologically and psychologically to unfavorable environmental factors. I would like to deal briefly with each of these in turn.

The first meaning of tolerance is acted out by some persons I should imagine in almost every community of the world. It is the perspective of the person who stands at the edge of a traditional cultural group. He notices that others outside his group differ from himself and others he knows. He applies the high virtues of his group to those quaint strangers from the outside. He feels sympathy for them because they have not had the good fortune to grow up in the same cultural setting as he has. As he is with children who have not yet learned the "right" way, he is indulgent. On a small scale this is probably not an intolerable perspective. But when it is packaged in televion programs, and when these programs are sold below cost, say to Singapore, and when these types of materials constitute 80% of Singapore's television offerings, then I say that expression of indulgence is beyond tolerance.

I sometimes suspect Americans emerged from the U.S. melting pot half-baked. This condition of sympathetic indulgence on the world scene leads to a tolerant attitude toward cultural difference and diversity that masks the imperative of cultural diversity for human survival. Tolerance as sympathy and indulgence from this point forward is itself beyond tolerance. It distorts the right to communicate.

The second meaning of tolerance focuses on a permissable deviation from a standard. The standards in question in the case of human communication stems from the policy, rules and regulations that national governments impose. An examination of such regulation from a world perspective reveals a set of mismatches that leads, for instance, to the U.S. position that direct world satellite broadcasts ought to be put in service as soon as possible to guarantee a free flow of information, and the Soviet position that they will of necessity shoot down those propaganda satellites. As we hear it on a thirty second television spot, and as filtered through American perspectives, the Soviet position is made to appear ridiculously beyond tolerance. Yet, when considered in the perspective of a right to communicate and with due concern for local cultural development, the matter appears in a different light.

A third meaning of tolerance is closest to my concern here: to assess the relative capacity to endure or adapt physiologically and psychologically to an unfavorable environment factor. To return to an earlier point, from about 1750 onward, a major imbalance has been evident in human communication. In part, it arises from a traditional form of cultural transmission. More clearly, it is embodied in any one-to-many communication system. The matter does not seem serious so long as an occasional public speech is delivered as was the case in early Greece. It becomes more serious, when this "unquestionable" model is built into the school structures of the world in one-to-many classroom structures.

It becomes even more serious when the model is built into national radio and television broadcasting and print media. It becomes intolerable when it is amplified into worldwide direct broadcasting which only four or five "sources" can afford. It is far beyond tolerance when television programs made to command attention and sell soap in America are resold to other world broadcast outlets at a price calculated to suppress the development of local television production capacity long enough to condition viewer preferences, after which prices can be raised. While such marketing practices are smart Yankee business, supported by American cultural perspectives, it has on the larger scale an effect unanticipated and unwanted. Obviously, it deprives American viewers of the thoughtful look at the cultural ways of other people that television in particular can facilitate, providing that first production capacity is developed in the small cities of the world.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights claims that everyone has the right "to seek, receive, and impart information." In the last 200 years, an imbalance has arisen between the receive and impart functions. A U.S. teenager, for instance, receives information others determine he "ought to seek" while in school for several hours per day; that same teenager spends an additional several hours receiving radio and television programs that command his attention. In sum, not only for teenagers, but also for younger children and adults of all ages, the human receives information mainly transmitted by distant and unknown sources. Over the years, there has been a corresponding reduction in opportunities to impart information. The institutions that capture the attention of humans of all ages claim the time necessary for the maintenance and development of the small local cultural structures of man. The diversity and vigor of such local structures appear vital for the survival of man.

Kurt Waldheim has recently said that we are busy developing a communication technology that may have consequences we neither foresee nor desire. Others have echoed his observation.

I think we have not yet fully foreseen the consequences of a large scale one-way communications technology. The factory assembly line did little to enhance humanness. In time, I expect we shall come to similar conclusions about the mass media and the empires they impose.

A receive/impact imbalance can be reduced by increasing TWO-WAY communication capacities. I take it as a central task of persons interested in communication and culture to work toward correcting a 200 year long imbalance. Tranceiver technology makes it possible to do so. Along that path, it will be necessary to move from an intercultural, international perspective on to a multicultural worldview.

On May 13, 1974, the first meeting of the Universtiy Council, a kind of worldwide board of regents, met in New York City to begin a set policy for the new UN UNIVERSITY. The goals of such a new world institution are many. Among them are to develop a world knowledge base for the study of questions of importance to all Mankind, and to enable multicultural groups of scholars to work together in regional institutes located in many places around the world to develop that knowledge base.

For the first time, THE UN UNIVERSITY OFFERS A WAY FOR US TO MOVE THE STUDY AND PRACTICE OF INTERCULTURAL/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ON TO A MULTICULTURAL WORLDVIEW. IN THIS WAY, MORE THAN ANY OTHER YET AVAILABLE, WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP A CULTURE-FAIR CONCEPTION OF THE RIGHT OF MAN EVERYWHERE TO COMMUNICATE.

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CRITICAL REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

William J. Starosta
Assistant Editor

Intercultural and international communication is characterized, as an area of study, by diffuseness of definition and an expanding array of central interests. Accordingly, no review can possibly cover even a major portion of the available recent literature which some in the field might find relevant to their work. It is of probably greater urgency to focus in some depth on a few topical areas and to treat them critically, than to skim too lightly over the entire spectrum of available work. This permits consideration of: (1) subject matter proper; (2) coherence of the author's or editor's treatment, (3) the significance of the work; (4) the contribution of the work to theory and to informed practice; and (5) definitions and point of view of the writer.

Topics emphasized in the present reveiw are: Intercultural Communication; Developmental Communication (Information Diffusion); and Media Capacities (Symbolic and Instructional). Secondary attention is given to Non-Verbal Communication, Cross-Cultural Understanding, Methodology and Theory-Building. Topics overlooked for the present but of concern for succeeding ANNUALS include Interracial Communication, Non-Western Rhetoric, Intercultural Training and Workshops, Cross-Cultural and International Communication, Socio- and Psycholinguistic Theory, Tourism and Student Exchange, International Business and Organizational Communication, Conflict Resolution and Propaganda, Journalism and Mass Media, Dialect and other more specialized interests. The selection of topics is based upon a sense of most pressing need and upon the research interests of the reviewer.

Various criteria operated in the process of selection. Works were selected which advanced some further end than simply to propound abstract theory or to report largely undigested data. Items selected represent a more even balance of theory and application, or else are of marked heuristic value. Recent works are featured except where an older work remains the best available statement of its type.

Reviews are structured to facilitate comparison, to highlight themes and treatments of ideas, to suggest appropriate levels of classroom application and to evaluate the coherence of collections (or to feature items of special interest within collections where this is more appropriate). Themes and treatments are occasionally cross-referenced for the convenience of the reader, especially in cases where one anthology deals with a number of topical areas. Textual references, refer to other items reviewed.

I. INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A READER. By Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter (Eds.). Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1972; pp. 343, paper.

The stated purpose of the READER is that it should be adopted as a core text, containing both theoretical and practical knowledge which is "immediately usable" for the general, i.e., undergraduate reader. Where it is not employed as a core text, it is meant to assume a supplementary role for skills and interpersonal communication courses and as a collection of resource materials. The anthology is directed toward meeting a compelling pragmatic need, understanding, which will lead to "renunciation of force" in dealings between cultures. The editors stress that to meet such a goal the ideas in the collection must be able to be put into application.

An assessment of the edition must include five observations: (1) The collection is timely, in that many teachers, trainers and students alike are seeking a statement as to the parameters of intercultural communication; (2) Excellent sources are tapped, although insufficient effort is made to transcend the essays to produce what Harms (1973) refers to as "synergy," or the pooling of ideas to surpass the worth of the ideas standing in isolation; (3) The materials, while offered in the search of ready application, offer little if anything in the area of workshops or training, little on counseling, and include some essays by ethnologists who professionally and chronically refuse to generalize their findings to that stage where their ideas permit application; (4) Too little is said about methodology, whereas to deal with cross-cultural ideas one must have some notion of technique and tools of enquiry; and (5) The collection, in spite of the strong efforts of the editors, does not provide a consistent definition of terms and does not play contrasting ideas from the selection sharply enough against each other, to wit: Sitaram's position is refuted by Price-Williams; Sledd answers questions raised by the preceding Buck article; inconsistencies in the LeBarre article pass without comment; and the fact that Smith works from a definition of intercultural communication as usually referrring "to political goals and diplomatic missions" in counterdistinction to any other definition offered within the collection (most define this as "international") simply is not pointed out for the "general" reader, who might miss these points. The editors report, but do not often enough critically analyze what they present.

More specifically, in the overview unit, Porter defines intercultural communication as "cultural variance in the perception of social objects or events." Knowing the range and type of variance to be encountered should facilitate communication. The early versions of culture assimilators were premised on this belief as well, but more recent thought (as presented for example at the ICA New Orleans convention) seems now to favor "attribution of meanings" to those evidences sought by Porter (Triandis in Hoopes, 1973). Porter treats attitudes, social organization, thought patterns, roles, language, use of space and time, and nonverbal patterns as major cultural components. Ethnocentrism, which creates intercultural barriers, could have been discussed with reference to "social judgment," "anchoring" or "ego-involvement," with ties to past literature.

In general, the article sets the stage for much of what is to follow.

The Sitaram article defines communication in part as "the act of understanding and being understood," a view which has often come under close scrutiny WITHIN cultures, needless to add BETWEEN them. The editor's introduction to Unit II on perception cites Berlo to the effect that meaning is never "transferred" (in "hypodermic needle" fashion) but rather elicited (the distinction is crucial). Thus, calling intercultural communication largely an "art" obscures the dyadic or group nature of the exchange, and allows effectiveness to reside exclusively not only within the "message" but even within one party to the exchange alone. Mutuality ought to be stressed more heavily in definitions to be consistent with attempts later in essay to establish just this point.

Rich and Ogawa offer "positive response" as a goal for inter-racial exchange, and substitute a pluralistic terminology for Sitaram's "majority-minority." A model is offered to (quite ingeniously) combine class and racial considerations, the chief drawback of which is the neglect of Rokeach's warning that issue salience can mean more than race in some forums, a footnote reference to Rokeach notwithstanding.

In Unit II Price-Williams shows how accepted standards can be "cultural artifacts" and how methodology and meaning reside in cultural premises which generate them. Hallowell comes closest to raising the point of "salience" in showing perception to be an active process, backed by plentiful persuasive examples. Wedge shows how national organization colors perceptions of other nations and corporations. Perhaps he is too polemical in insisting that there is no substance to the negative corporate image abroad as wielders of too much influence when IT&T, as an example, ranks well above most NATIONS as an international corporate concern. Wedge rightly aims to change attributions as well as the thing itself in solution to image problems.

Unit III on language could have included articles (Horton) or excluded them (Glenn) with equal justification. The grouping is somewhat arbitrary. The unit argues with effect the case for language relativism, but fails to suggest sufficient application. Hoijer and Glenn's pieces, taken as methodology, provide important insights, but the grouping of the articles dissipates any focus.

Unit IV, on non-verbal elements, begins with statements that gestures, use of space, posture, touch and territoriality are culture-specific behavior. As a reader of descriptions of visuals, I can only wish for audio-visual displays to see HOW various cultures squat, protrude the tongue, or nod for yes (if they do). The use of the verbal mode to bear nonverbal characterizations abounds in ironies when, by Johnson's own logic, the medium of "verbal symbols" is not meant to explain "nonverbal meaning." Incidentally, the unit shifts from nondeliberate to rhetorical use of symbolism without adequate warning from the editors.

Becoming a more effective intercultural communicator, the goal of Unit V, is an end that is serviceable for all work is done in this area. Mead brushes on Bateson's idea of deutero learning too briefly, not dwelling on that which writers on mass communications have stressed with greater impact: A PERSON LEARNS MORE FROM AN ENCOUNTER THAN CAN BE EXPRESSED IN A SURFACE ANALYSIS OF THAT CONTACT. One may, in effect, learn to cope with other encounters which are more or less analogous to known situations, as a "third culture" representative. This belief underlies all intercultural training. The unit as a whole examines how symbols "change hands" between causes (Mead), how "miscommunication" is best avoided (Barna), how preconceptions blind a foreign observer to objective truths about America (Wedge) and Asia (Kleinjans), how knowing one's self helps one to know others (Stewart), and finally identifies coding, attempts to comprehend, proximity and metalanguage as intercultural communication variables (Smith).

The final unit (why the last?) is dedicated to research. Rather than to treat methodology in any depth (Chu alone does so) the section speaks more to the point that "intercultural communication presents more unanswered questions and unresolved problems than there are answers and solutions." A statement which may be involuted is that "to overcome this difficulty, we will have to seek out answers through the type of research characterized by the articles in this book." (Samovar and Porter). I suspect that answers will come, if they do, not by staying within frameworks "characterized by the articles"but by TRANSCENDING such frameworks. The Becker article shows where research ought to be conducted (diffusion and mass media in particular), the Burk essay poses symbiosis (mutual benefit) as an ethnic, and Berrien calls for collaboration between national researchers at every stage of the research. I find myself in strong sympathy with these points.

The collection has strengths: strong essayists with important ideas write with a certain sense of scope and sincerity. But much could be done to substantially increase the impact of the anthology. It is suited to and very well received by its primary audience in the undergraduate classroom, but it does not go far enough towards being actually used and applied. The collection does not build to that point where it transcends itself.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By L.S. Harms. New York: Harper and Row, 1973; pp. 176, paper.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, designed for "the beginning student of intercultural communication," appears to have been written from the transactional point-of-view. Implicit in the text is the belief that intercultural communication is a process of interpersonal (dyadic or small groups) face to face exchange which is fostered by an investment of the communicator in such a way that he is willing to change himself as a result of his contact (non-authoritarian) and that he comes to the situation with the hope of surpassing results which could be achieved alone (synergy and serendipity).

Those characterizations usually reserved for distinguishing between mass and interpersonal communication (one or two directional, etc.) now divide "interpersonal" from "cross-cultural." The result is a focus on telecomnets (telephone, etc.) and transcomnets (transportation) to the degree that these forms permit dyadic and small group interpersonal exchange. The overall point of view of the author is that the predicted "intercultural communication revolution" will be characterized "by cooperative, rather than competitive, modes of communication."

The treatment given issues is consciously dedicated more to the raising of questions than to their final resolution. When a point is reached (definitions as one example) which could necessitate a lengthy digression the reader is told "these differences do not worry me and they should not worry you." This format, while it has the advantage of allowing breadth of sweep for the new initiate to the field, is at times superficial for the reader who is better acquainted with relevant issues.

The reader is told that the exercise of the thinking function involved in intercultural communication could result in the evolutionary increase in the size and the problem solving ability of the brain contrary to present trends. Even if somehow true, increasing dependence on cybernetics would do much to counter such a happy end. Likewise, transoceanic telephone calls are uniformly called "intercultural." Yet, with an application of the terms "homophily" and "heterophily," based upon the degree of likeness between communicants, sender and receiver are typically more homophilous in this setting than not (Cherry, 1971). Similarly, television broadcasts for the development of Indian villages are "one way" and "hence no substitute for the type of two-way, intercultural communication which is of concern here." Yet: writers such as Palmer of Children's Television Workshop fame or Gross and Bruner (Gerbner, et al., 1973)demonstrate that television can be made to approximate most of the traits of interpersonal communication; and the forum-style presentation so characteristic of the Indian development effort (and seen on the cover of Schramm's MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT) involve the direct presence of an interpersonal communicator. Again, "fears and hatreds . . . are less likely to emerge when peoples and nations are in direct contact with each other," says the author, as one reflection of his acknowledged "cautious optimism." That many cases exist to refute this conclusion (Porter and Samovar in Hoopes, 1973) as well as to support his position is not indicated. And again, since "research shows a strong relationship between the development of communication facilities and a country's economic development," "why not then make it a first priority . . . ." However, even the reference to Lerner which supports the text (based on PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY) argues more for media as CORRELATE than CAUSE of development. John C. Merrill, Everett M. Rogers and Joseph Klapper, among many who write on this subject, are suspicious of the claims for causality. Finally, interpersonal contact is repeatedly said to foster understanding between cultures. This contact excludes "formal" situations like diplomacy, but what of international business? Robert T. Oliver claims that "talk exacerbates conflict" Does not the writer owe his neophyte reader these and other qualifiers?

Surprisingly, the reader is told that "print in the form of literature is not generally considered an essential part of intercultural communication." Tolstoy and Premchand, Marx and Mao Tse-tung, the elite press of the world's developing nations and letters apparently are passed by with this comment as conveyors of ideas across cultural barriers, (Walsh, 1973) not to mention propaganda leaflets and wall posters. Choice of topics may be justified by an author by claims of expedience, but the reader must wonder why certain cuts fell where they did and not elsewhere.

The above examples are representative of questions which troubled the present reader. The text had many points in compensation:

The "fun concepts" of serendipity and synergy are a natural and commendable outgrowth of the author's point of view; communication is provocatively argued as "a natural right" (which some UN agencies have begun to question) and the student is permitted to draft a UN resolution to achieve this goal; the author introduces "unstable bilingualism" theory in a simplified but functional presentation on "black dialect;" and the author looks to the future, as is characteristic, to identify both problems and opportunities.

The salient points of the work are the concern for problems as well as possibilities, the focus on small-group and dyadic systems, the "tentative" approach, the informality of the presentation, the rebelling against authority-styled communication, the use of leading questions and exercises, and the lack of much specificity.

The attitudes a reader will meet in the book are a sense of optimism, cautious hope and expectation. It may be hoped that an excellent bibliography will make these attitudes more concrete for the student who wishes to test the author's ideas further.

READINGS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By David S. Hoopes (Ed.).
Pittsburgh: Regional Council for International Education, 1973, Volume III.

It is of interest to note that the editor of READINGS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION has played the role in recent years as coordinator, information disseminator and "communication node" for work in the area, particularly through the periodic publication of COMMUNIQUE. Volume I of READINGS (May, 1971) placed an emphasis on defining the relationship between communication and culture and on the initial reporting of results of intercultural communication workshops. Attention to training was somewhat secondary. Volume II (June, 1972) retained an interest in theory and workshops, supplemented by a section on course syllabi in the intercultural area. While this was to have been the last collection of readings, pressure continued for the further dissemination of materials through this organ. The result is a third volume aimed toward the generation of theory in intercultural communication. The articles dedicated to the conduct of workshops are left for comment in some other forum.

The lead article in the collection is an attempt to answer the question: Where do we go from here? That the question is raised by Porter and Samovar (INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A READER) helps to determine that the proffered response will be of interest to the student in Speech Communication. Intercultural communication, say the authors, "occurs whenever meaning is attributed to behavior coming from another culture," a point of view consistent with Triandis's use of "subjective culture" and "attribution theory" later in the volume. Porter and Samovar opt to examine "intercultural" in contrast to "cross-cultural" events, a distinction that is not entirely clear in the essay.

The impact of the article is severalfold: (1) It aims at a focus on theory-building, a plea which must not go unanswered if the field is to become integrated and to advance. (2) The essay seeks other-culture testing of known communication relationships for generalizability and validity of theoretical statements. (3) The text makes a critical point which is not stressed in the summary that theory must yield methods if it is to be of value. Rogers has stressed such a point in reference to both "middle range theory" and to scoffing at "data miners" who abandon the premises when they have finished their exploitation (Rogers, 1971). (4) The authors then make the point that statements are needed to explain under what circumstances intercultural communication will yield productive results (synergy and serendipity, Harms, 1973). (5) Porter and Samovar explain the new frames of reference must be generated as a result of impact of cultures. It becomes equally critical, I believe, to add that IMPACT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A FUNCTION OF TIME: are effects permanent? is a change of outlook transferable? are "sleeper effects" evident? (6) The essay goes on to advocate the creati[illegible] of cultural data banks or inventories such as those organizied by V. Lynn Tyler and for more work (rather inspecifically) in the area of diffusion of innovations.

The Hwang article which follows discusses in general terms the difficulties involved in devising a suitable instrument to do other-culture surveys. Three suggestions are the main focus of the article: first, to devise an etic (foreign, structural) instrument to be tested emically, second, to use back-translation; and, third, to use bi-national collaboration. If the article comes to a conclusion it is that "the intercultural communication difficulties of cross-cultural research tend to be related to the establishment of equivalence – equivalence of subjects, research instruments, and test conditions."

The article by Daniel's pertaining to "Black communication" draws directly those conclusions reached more inductively elsewhere by Ashante to the effect that living within a dominant culture does not prevent the persistence of a separate, distinct Black culture (Gerbner et al., 1973). Daniels makes a crucial point in his assertion that the question of HOW to teach Black communication is premature. The preliminary questions are "WHAT, WHO and WHY" and to teach. His own analysis touches primarily on "why" and, secondarily, on "what."

"Why" is already mentioned, in that Black culture is separate from the broader culture. "What" to teach must include that "Black" communication never has content subservient to form," that "Black" is "an attitude of mind" and a set of "primary assumptions" (NOMMO, intangible causation), that Black communication is ascientific, subjective and demanding of appropriate methodologies for study.

Of the articles in the collection the Triandis article goes farthest toward meeting the criteria set up within the remainder of the anthology. It emphasizes "isomorphic attribution" which is explained theoretically at length, with some examples omitted in the interest of brevity. Attribution theory, reference to the culture assimilator (which stands to be bolstered by use of attribution theory), a model of interactive response based upon "(1) the personality of the subject; (2) the culture and (3) the social setting in which the behavior takes place" which satisfies Porter and Samovar's call for theory building, and (too little) on differentiation as a function of isomorphic interaction, set a strong base for Triandis's plea for "culture training" to "increase a person's ability to select from the social environment the cues that the Other uses as causes of his interpersonal behavior."

The last theory-related article is by Alfred G. Smith (COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, 1966). He views all cultures as multiple "poly-cultures," "pluralisms" or "confederations" of sorts. One must therefore identify dimensions by which to measure variability between cultural groups, and determine modes of relations within and between groups. The discussion of channels is to me the most intriguing concept of the entire edition. Not only is there a difference in cultures according to availability of channels as one gleans from work with communication of innovations in that traditional cultures possess interpersonal media and technological society mass media, but even within technologically advanced cultures "channel switching" (formal and informal) occurs as a function of need. Finally, "third culture" "brokers" are examined in the abstract without resolving the points so raised. A point on the "opening and closing" of a culture to some other is noted briefly and dismissed, as a part of the pluralism discussion. The bibliography on pluralism which accompanies the essay is most impressive.

INTERCOMMUNICATION AMONG NATIONS AND PEOPLES. By Michael H. Prosser (Ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1973; pp. 608 (assisted by William J. Starosta), paper.

As assistant to the editor of the INTERCOMMUNICATION collection I will refrain from most value judgments about the anthology. The collection from the outset posed a number of problems: available essays were often repetitious, definitions were not used consistently, some of what was written was of little consequence while other materials were too narrow to permit either generalization or application. The final logic of selection included: (1) ideas of substance (2) on topics which could be argued to be central to the study of intercultural and international communication (3) written, insofar as possible, by non-American authors and (4) arranged to lead from theory (abstraction) through middle-range theory to case within subject matter units.

Some two year's perspective demonstrates that, along with certain strengths of the collection, weaknesses are also present: a few of the theoretical pieces are TOO abstract for a general audience; the collection may be too diffuse; and definitions are not always clear or consistent. Samovar and Porter call diffuseness of definition "a strength" (1972) and Harms says problems of definition "do not concern him and neither should they concern the reader" (1973), indicating that a problem with definitions is not unique to this volume but runs throughout all of the intercultural works herein reviewed.

Prosser makes his point of view clear in the preface: dialogue is a substitute, perhaps the only substitute, for battle. Like Harms, Prosser presents himself as "a cautious optimist," as seen in the progression of essays to suggest a better future in the final unit. The editor's view of communication as something one does if he wills or not (a position taken by researchers in non-verbal communication as well) is too broad for some who prefer to view "intent" as a necessary element, but the process orientation of the editor is a definite strength of his work.

Methodology is never separated out as a unit distinct from the rest of the edition in the belief that most of the writers selected offered and defended appropriate methodological tools for their own essay. A new edition might reconsider that choice, and might then opt for a distinct focus on methods and tools.

The essays in INTERCOMMUNICATION are generally current, some one-half of the essays are drawn from book chapters or from lesser-read journals, and the collection is aimed (in part) at an audience more advanced than that of other available alternatives (advanced undergraduates). No other alternative, as of this writing, offers the breadth of selection that is given in this collection. The anthology introduces the sophomore to views of the sense ratio, symbolic meaning, public opinion, charismatic leadership, conflict resolution, developmental communication, communication fredom and concludes with a statement on how or whether intercommunication serves to integrate those elements involved in the process.

When such a variety of topics cannot, for any reason, be worked into a single course, I have known several adopters who have selected particular units to be of relevance to narrower courses (social change, intercultural communication, international communication) and such a use might be where the collection has its greatest potential application.

SPEECH COMMUNICATION. By William D. Brooks. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1971 and 1974, Edition II..

The final two chapters of Brooks's text center on matters of interest to those in intercultural communication. Particularly the chapter on Cross-Cultural Communication, authored by W. Steven Brooks, is intended to impress upon the basic communication skills course student: (1) the increasing frequency of interpersonal intercultural contact; (2) the inherent communication difficulties arising from such contact; and (3) the omnipresence of cultures and subcultures and their isolation from each other.

Credit is given in a general reference to Edward T. Hall for some of the insights of the chapter (and some of the examples) while an article by Cheseboro and items from the Prosser collection provide other analysis and examples. In balance, the chapter offers nothing that is unique, and is more a collation of available sources than an original thesis. Suggested exercises for the chapter highlight the three points above, as does the slightly more intensive study of the women's liberation subculture in the final chapter.

EXPERIENCES IN COMMUNICATION. By Wayne Austin Schrope (Ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974.

Included in the Readings section of the Schrope text is an essay by Edward T. Hall and William Foote Whyte on "Intercultural Communication." The article is anecdotal, as is so characteristic of Hall's work, and is directed to the businessman from America who must rely on overseas contacts and transactions (with examples from Japan, Latin America and Greece).

Many of the examples are so time-worn (through various and sundry borrowings and retellings) that the initiated reader has a sense of DEJA VU, or of coming home to see an old friend. Perhaps the sense of over-familiarity does not weigh so heavily on the student who is giving her first consideration to the magnitude of the obstacles to be surmounted by the executive who is commonly called upon to do business abroad. Presumably, this is Schrope's hope.

The piece is preceded by the warning that symbols take their meaning THROUGH PEOPLE, and not from any intrinsic aspect of the symbol itself. The more important task would have been to trace the implications of this thesis as cultural diversity increases, as a contribution to the literature on semiotics.

INTERACTION: AN INTRODUCTION TO SPEECH COMMUNICATION. By Fred L. Casmir. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1974; pp. 211.

Casmir's work is a refreshing attempt to revitalize the skills course literature with insights provided in part from the work in intercultural communication. Although the text touches on many topics, the reader can sense a familiarity with themes recurrent in literature in intercultural communication: (1) Casmir's communication model takes cognizance of social groupings as a source of meaning in communication; (2) non-linearity of intent and effect (stressed first in information theory but later in systems analysis) is mentioned repeatedly; (3) non-verbal communication is the focus of one chapter; and (4) the reference to "change" and to "change agent" in place of "persuasion" and "persuader" is a direct link to innovation diffusion literature and is to be commended.

The work is well integrated. While it does not separately treat "intercultural" or "cross-cultural" communication, it does much to ready students for more specific texts which will do so.

INTER-CULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY OF MAN. By John E. Walsh. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii (East-West), 1973; pp., 225, $9.50.

Edwin O. Reischauer, in the foreword to Walsh's volume, points out that international understanding through education is an imperative, and that the educator must move beyond questions of desirability or feasibility to design a blueprint for action. The text, in somewhat general terms, provides such a sketch.

Walsh says that each individual must become familiar with two cultures: first, he is born into and raised according to the guidelines of the culture of his birth; secondly, he must join the family of man taken generically. A common language, analytic skills and interpersonal skills will be included in the new intercultural education. The underlying values of the universal man include a deep appreciation of creative synthesis between cultures, a belief in common elements of human nature and a trust in the non-coercive evolution of new contacts between cultures.

The ideas may be unachievable. The important point is that they may serve as an ultimate goal for interunderstanding.

THROUGH NAVAJO EYES: AN EXPLORATION IN FILM, COMMUNICATION, AND ANTHROPOLOGY. By S. Worth and J. Adair. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

The authors describe in detail how they taught Navajo Indians to film their own culture, and how the resultant materials were analyzed for a non-Navajo audience. The result is a graphic and persuasive restatement of the Sapir-Whorf language relativism hypothesis phrased, however, in the visual mode. The thoroughness of the authors provides methodological assistance for field researchers in anthropology, communications and cognitive psychology.

II. DEVELOPMENTAL COMMUNICATION (INFORMATION DIFFUSION)

Joseph Ascroft, in journalism at the University of Iowa, made a statement at the ICA New Orleans convention in 1974 that typifies the view of many of those now into the study of intercultural communication to the effect that: "Intercultural communication is the taking of technical assistance from a source and translating that assistance into innovation in another locale." This view stems from a perspective premiered, perhaps, by Lerner, championed by Y.V.L. Rao and consummated by Everett M. Rogers.

COMMUNICATION OF INNOVATIONS: A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH. By Everett M. Rogers and F. Floyd Shoemaker. New York: Free Press, pp. 476.

In some respects the public has seen this work before as DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS or (in spirit) in MODERNIZATION AMONG PEASANTS. The presentation is straightforward and at the level of "middle-range theory" centered on one hundred propositions which have been subjected to empirical confirmation. The book is previewed at length before each unit is treated in detail. The impressive aspect of the book is that it so obviously reflects a familiarity with massive numbers of fieldwork studies which, in the normal course of matters, would be read in isolation if at all. The resultant treatment, while as some students remark is "dry," is of great import. The book did not GIVE the world the terms "homophily" or "empathy;" it did not mandate first that the innovation should be seen to have a relative advantage; nor did it even for the first time stress the role of interpersonal communication in the diffusion of innovations. But, for many readers, the first salutary exposure to such concepts comes through this text, and many date their first known instance of "homophily" to Rogers and Shoemaker.

Some of the especially strong features of the book include: (1) The propositions are organized in an appendix with studies which confirm, fail to confirm, or contradict them. (2) The treatment revises earlier models of innovation sequences to consider, for example, discontinuation of innovation. (3) The book goes into research traditions, change agents, collective adoption, communication channels for innovation and authority innovation decisions in a depth or manner unfamiliar to me elsewhere.

I have used this book for graduate and undergraduate courses. Graduates recognize the depth of the integration presented, while undergraduates appreciate the organized structure the book imparts to an otherwise hard-to-grasp area of study. Only a monograph done by Y.V.L. Rao for the United Nations has greater breadth while still achieving clarity of presentation (Rao, 1972). Those students who are deterred by the $10.95 price tag reduce their "dissonance" after reading the work and conclude: there is no alternative for the same purpose.

It is perhaps this very lack of an alternative which tends to bother me. I am reluctant to see the generation of new ideas and approaches stifled by a text which contains TOO MANY answers and models. The strength of the book, ironically, is also its weakness. For the moment, I predict, it will curtail creative thinking in the diffusion area, through no fault of the authors. My reservation in recommending the book is that the apparent completeness of the answers contained therein will deter the asking of heuristic new questions.

In sum, the book is an excellent and comprehensive treatment of its subject and a fine resource for student or planner which blends theory and case in a highly coherent result.

MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. By Wilbur Schramm. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1964; pp. 333.

The first approval expressed for this text by Lerner in 1964 ("opened the gates for all of us to try to (understand) . . . communication in development"), by Gerbner ("provide(s) a sound basis for planning and mobilization of human resources through mass communications") and by Ely ("should be read and used by all enlightened planners who are serving developing nations") has lost its relevance with the advance of education in extension programs, birth control planning (McMillan, 1973), communications departments and with the burgeoning new interest in intercultural communication (QUA development).

While it is true that the book is still readable and concrete, it no longer represents an adequate foundation for understanding communication and development. Its mass media orientation gives too little attention to interpersonal linkage (Liu, 1971). While the injunction to make media "as local as possible" and the concern that message quality deteriorates with length of channel bear indirectly on this problem, they do not confront the problem directly.

In essence, the text raises fundamental questions suitable for a first enquiry, but no longer of much import with the further advance of media theory. The field has "taken stock," "set priorities" and has thereby outgrown the text.

COMMUNICATIONS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By Lucian W. Pye (Ed.) Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1961; pp. 381.

By contrast COMMUNICATIONS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT remains a very useful collection over a decade after its first publication. Among the considerations raised include the characterization of society by degree of communication development, an abstract statement on the role of communication (interpersonal) and communications (mass) in political development, the borrowing of deutero learning from Bateson as a variable of renewed importance, case studies and a (still) excellent statement by Pye on the nature of communication and the domain of communications study.

COMMUNICATION AND CHANGE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. By Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (Eds.). Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967.

This collection dates its inception from a 1964 East-West Center conference, where participants saw the utility of uniting statements on developmental communication theory with case studies from three countries: India, Communist China and the Philippines. Millikan sets the stage for the collection with a brief remark on how environment has been expanding for pretechnological peoples, necessitating the creation of a "propensity to innovate" among the world's peasantry.

Much of the work in developmental theory is abstract: every society needs commmunication institutions (media); communication must survey the environment, raise aspirations, teach, socialize, etc.; the press plays a particular role in development; is communication usually vertical or horizontal in developing states?; and what of a possible "multiplier effect" of media? Even solutions, such as the use of "a planned dynamic" for change, are abstract. This is why the format which includes case studies is so crucial to the total impact of the anthology.

As a first introduction to the theory of developmental communication the text retains a great residual value. Problems are identified, solutions are phrased in general terms, the playing of Lerner's views on Westernization against Inayyatulah's sharp rebuttal provides notions of models and ethics for the undergraduate reader, and the theoretical statements by Schramm and by Dube retain their insight seven years after initial publication. It is my suspicion that works by S.C. Dube are too seldom tapped in spite of their depth of insight and intensity.

COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF TWO INDIAN VILLAGES. By Y.V.L. Rao. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1966.

A text which may be used with profit is that on Rao's village studies (referred to by Rogers, Pye and others). The text is less valuable for its methodology, as the work often generalizes beyond what the data given should apparently demonstrate (maybe because the work grew out of a larger dissertation) than for its sheer volume of ideas. Methods are devised to test level of abstraction and empathy, information bearers are classified in a speculative system by role or position in the village, and crucial points are dramatized concerning whether papers, films or ANY mass media have an impact in the village.

A second important dimension of the study is the developed/underdeveloped aspect. The study begs the question of causality betwen village development and communication habits in the village, but even if put as correlation or concommitant variation instead of as antecedent variable, the result is exciting. The question of the reduction of the elite-mass gap with development, while not documented to the satisfaction of a reader critical of methodology, will make fascinating study for future researchers.

Rao's book is altogether readable and graphic in its presentation. True, a too meagre supply of data is stretched to answer a too vast array of questions, but the questions remain crucial and engaging. If the reader will accept the book as an heuristic effort with intuitive impression presented as proven fact, it becomes an excellent text for undergraduates who wish to understand rural communication patterns.

THE PRACTICE OF MASS COMMUNICATIONS: SOME LESSONS FROM RESEARCH. By Y.V.L. Rao. Paris: UNESCO, Department of Mass Communications, 1972.

This item and the last by Rao remain current because of the nature of their speculation. The work for the United Nations is the single most comprehensive overview of the field of developmental communication that I have encountered, and is marred only by wholesale unmarked quotation without specifically giving due credit except for a generalized acknowledgement in the preface. This account is imperative for those with journalistic leanings and ought probably to be required for anyone with an interest in the area of communication and development. The style of the essay itself deserves study by those who speak to an international audience.

USING COMMERCIAL RESOURCES IN FAMILY PLANNING COMMUNICATION PROGRAMS: THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE. By Michael McMillan (Ed.). Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii (East-West), 1973: pp. 140, $2.00.

The text, a byproduct of a 1972 East-West Center conference on commercial resources as available for use in population planning programs, does much to explain for the policy maker how he should go about enlisting advertising agencies and market research firms to conduct planning campaigns. Not only is a general overview provided which shows the surprisingly great degree of reliance that some governments already make on private commercial agencies, but the text is strongest in offering CONCRETE suggestions for types of advertising campaigns.

The book is a well-rounded, authoritative, convincing treatment of its subject matter. It would fit well into a training program, a population policy consideration or a course in developmental communication. The great irony of the treatment is that the United States, creator of "reach-and-frequency" campaigns, is well behind some twenty other developing nations in the marketing of contraceptive materials. Literacy, rural attitudes and delicate subject matter fail to prevent an enthusiastic response to scientifically conducted population planning campaigns.

COMMUNICATING FOR CHANGE WITH THE RURAL DISADVANTAGED: A WORKSHOP. By the National Academy of Sciences. Washington, D.C., 1972.

The workshop results are summarized in the introductory section of the book, and elaborated on by the individuals from around America who are gathered to share their experiences in working with the "other advantaged" of America. The essays are generally graphic, well illustrated and very straightforward. The net impact of the work is to demonstrate that "communication gaps," poverty subcultures and language difficulties need not occur only as planning problems of the "Third World," but that the same problems are most pressing (and yet unacknowledged) within America itself. The book is a worthy supplement or even a core text for intercultural communication courses, and is crucial reading for students of developmental communication.

MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA. By Alan P.L. Liu. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971).

At the outset I will note that I have always found Liu a fascinating writer. My first encounter with his work was a monograph, THE USE OF TRADITIONAL MEDIA FOR MODERNIZING IN COMMUNIST CHINA (Center for International Affairs, MIT, 1965), which acquainted me with a writer of insightful and engaging ideas. While Liu wishes to avoid "needless duplication" in the present work, the reader would be well served by a fuller reference to work already covered in the earlier essay.

Communist China has taken certain policy steps which are instructive for the rest of the developing world. It has stressed interpersonal communication and has attempted wholesale what Liu terms "linkage" of the mass media to the traditional peasant. Liu may be too adamant in his belief that Communist emphasis on indoctrination has led to a neglect of the laying of a proper communications infrastructure (a view shared by Pool in the preface), but the position is bolstered by detail, statistics and clear logic. Liu presents the choice as a policy fluctuation between "penetration" and "identification."

Set against this broader examination is the specific message that a government may (legitimately or illegitimately) seize folk media for indoctrination purposes. Such a massive propaganda effort based upon one-sided appeal (theoretically sufficient in the absence of counter-propaganda) was hinted to have failed in China.

The account by Liu is the best case study available of political communication and national integration. It is uniformily strong in its treatment of mass and interpersonal media, and the best supplementary text might be Liu's own earlier study. The books, singly or in combination, round out a theory course at the college level quite admirably.

III. MEDIA CAPACITIES (SYMBOLIC AND INSTRUCTIONAL)

MEDIA AND SYMBOLS: THE FORMS OF EXPRESSION, COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION. By David E. Olson (Ed.). Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, NSSE 73rd Yearbook, Part I, 1974; pp. 508.

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL POLICY: UNDERSTANDING THE NEW 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION.' By George Gerbner, et al. (Eds.). New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1973; pp. 573.

The Olson collection sets out to demonstrate that various media represent no more than technologies, facilitating certain forms of instruction while being ill-suited to other educational requirements. The essayists included are well known in the field of mass media, psychology and instructional systems.

The anthology brings together the best of learning theory, instructional media, formative research and theories of symbolic acquisition and competency, and creates as a result an extraordinary, if abstract, view of the necessity to suit instruction to the available communications technology. The implementation of the suggestions contained in the collection will mean a total reevaluation of education, a rethinking of what is suitable content in education and an effort to bring out potential as yet latent in the application of communications media for instruction.

The collection is strongest in its consideration of competence in a particular symbolic mode as an end in itself. Likewise, the consideration of the media as a social adjunct, depending on cultural assumptions, receives adequate stress. The collection is of great importance for graduate instruction in education, instructional technology and international media, and as a supplementary text for courses focusing on symbols systems in society.

The central theme of the Gerbner collection as with Olson's is that technology is a means to an end, a tool, and is not to be considered out of context nor as an end product in itself. To divorce the technology from its consequences is impossible and, even if possible, is undesirable. Communications policy is required, based upon independent research (McMillan, 1973), to plan for any contingency subject to societal control. The texts differ in two major respects: the Gerbner text focuses more on considerations of policy than on abstractions relating to media potential (with some overlap between items); and it accommodates students who are advanced undergraduates more easily than would the other. Both items argue compellingly a concern for the appropriateness of media programming.

Gerbner's collection challenges a number of usually accepted views: (1) Freedom of information may not in all cases be a virtue for emergent nations. (2) Those who try to predicate a better and a planned future based upon new communications technologies have invariably been wrong. (3) Messages from one symbolic mode (pictures, music, verbal symbols, etc.) cannot be rendered adequately in some other symbolic mode. (4) Learning symbolic modes is of farther-reaching value than imparting specific content in the schools. and (5) Media are cultural artifacts, meaning that developmental communication does not a present exist – developers are in a culture apart from receivers.

The anthology is provocative throughout. It is packaged in self-contained units on available technology, educational applications, urban communications (including minority communications), the role of communications technology in national development, and offers views of the future which ought to shape media policy.

Several articles stand out as required reading for students of intercultural communication. Gross (also in Olson) details how an individual obtains symbolic competence within perceptual modes, raising questions of renderability between cultures. Bruner and Olson (In Gerbner) extend this statement to show limitations in expression for ALL cultural media (graphs, diagrams, numbers, mime, etc.) such that one can draw out no more meaning than he has learned to extract as a mode from the underlying means of presentation. Gabor, Schiller, Carey and Quirk argue a compelling case that increased intercultural communication need not in any way facilitate interunderstanding, as maintained by Harms (1973). Other articles deal with minority access to CATV. Finally, in a case for the use of "formative research" (McMillan, 1973), the creator of the Children's Television Workshop argues that more feedforward is crucial for the effective use of instructional television (a theme which he extends in the Olson volume).

While certain essays are exceptionally well argued, the Gerbner collection as a whole is timely, insightful and tantalizingly prophetic. The use of media technology always presents a risk, a theme which permeates the Gerbner collection. The reader of the volume will be better able to define that risk, if not necessarily to reduce it. Those who deal with policy decisions will find this collection critical to their work.

WORLD COMMUNICATION: THREAT OR PROMISE? A SOCIO–TECHNICAL APPROACH. By Colin Cherry. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971; pp. 229.

Cherry's text is written with a certain informality which does much to make the many statistics and charts palatable for the undergraduate reader. The book is a fascinating interplay of statistics, value judgments and speculation. Almost self-consciously, the author warns about the taking of the numbers at face value: reporting accuracy varies, media are used differently within separate settings, or values and preferences differ between localities.

WORLD COMMUNICATION: THREAT OR PROMISE? goes beyond the technical with the defense of a variety of propositions: (1) Societies can advance only so far as they can achieve, use and maintain systems of communication. (2) Media proliferation makes possible but not inevitable international cooperation and understanding. (3) Media forms correlate to other social aspects such as time-consciousness, sense of impending future (Rao, 1966), to progress or to critical abilities. (4) There is no available method for comparison for the relative value of media across cultures. (5) The intercultural communication offered by media penetration is between institutions more than between private persons. and (6) Media alone cannot "close the gap" between the more and less developed countries.

The beginning student of media will all to likely take the statistics to be the "message" of the book, a choice which could prove most unfortunate. The real message of the book lies between the charts, graphs and tables, in Cherry's interpretations. Cherry makes the point himself that technology is not independently significant, but rather the USE of that technology is the key: "the power of communication media resides in people . . . . (Attitudes and values) are not so readily and quickly changed by mere installation of technical apparatus." The contents of the "emotional power" of the media must interest all "cautiously optimistic" students of intercultural communication and of international organization.

The book is recommended for a college audience as a response to overly-optimistic treatments which equate potential with result, in **PETITIO PRINCIPI** form, and to those who are infatuated with futurology to the degree where they readily misinterpret the signs of the present. Cherry does not cease to "hope" for increased understanding and other informational benefits, but he does place these hopes in a fair context: "As technical means of communication spread among countries, rich and poor, to magnify their powers of expression in their own symbols, so may the dangers of misinterpretation be magnified." Efforts at further understanding must stem from an anticipation of possible difficulties in the exchange of ideas.

DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS
CONCERNED WITH INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
STUDY, TEACHING, RESEARCH, PRACTICE, SPONSORSHIP

Corinne K. Flemings
Assistant Editor

This directory is based on two assumptions:

that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds;

that the present expanding consciousness of international/intercultural communication study has not yet settled into defined and delineated study areas. Therefore the following listings are presented within the framework of this rationale:

1. Organizations rather than individuals are included.
2. Focuses are with human rather than mechanical, oral rather than written aspects of idea exchange.
3. Schools are included only if their primary offerings rather than one program of study or one course are in international/intercultural communication.
4. Conscious, objective study of communication with well-defined projects and reported conclusions may not engross the groups listed. Their efforts may be informally directed toward understanding under unstructured or barely structured conditions. They are listed because their activity may well be in a setting that a scholar would find useful in search of objective and controlled observations.
5. Entries are arranged alphabetically because they cannot be classified exclusively as research sources, practical experience opportunities, study grant sources, etc.
6. Descriptions are not complete but present only activities of interest to scholars of international/intercultural communication.
7. Most inclusions are based upon response to a letter mailed by the Annual's Assistant Editor.

There are more omissions than inclusions, largely because groups which bear names of obvious intercultural involvement did not respond to the letter. The usefulness of the directory seems evident, however, in that it surveys many organizations which have not earlier been seen as related to scholarly interests. The broad scope revealed in these listings should be of considerable value to persons interested in participating in, teaching, or studying aspects of international/intercultural communication.

The following directories are useful guides to persons and organizations that focus many of their activities on international/intercultural communication research and practice:

"AMERICAN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS ABROAD: SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT OVERSEAS STUDY, TEACHING, WORK, AND TRAVEL." U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Publication No. (OE) 72-196. Supt. of Documents Catalog No. HE 5.214:14174; Stock No. 1780-1073. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972. ($.45 to U.S. Govt. Printing Office Washington, D.C. 20402)

COMMUNICATION DIRECTORY 1973-1974. Silver Spring, Maryland: Council of Communication Societies, 1974.
($4.00 to Council of Communication Societies, P.O. Box 1074, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910)

DIRECTORY OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH AND RESEARCHERS. Bellingham, Washington: Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Department of Psychology, Western Washington State College, 1973.
($3.50 to DIRECTORY, W.J. Lonner, Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225)

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY FOR EDUCATIONAL LIAISON. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, 1973.
($5.00 to Publication Office, American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036)

ORGANIZATIONS SERVING INTERNATIONAL VISITORS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: International Visitors Service Council of Meridian House International, 1973.
($1.00 to IVIS, Suite L-3, 801-19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006)

WHOLE WORLD HANDBOOK: A STUDENT GUIDE TO WORK, STUDY, AND TRAVEL ABROAD. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange and the Frommer/Pasmantier Publishing Corporation, 1974.
($3.50 to Simon and Schuster, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10020)

ACTION
Washington , D.C. 20525
U.S. government agency administers programs of Peace Corps (see), Vista (see), UYA, Score, Ace, RSVP, Foster Grandparents, Senior Companion Program. Volunteers of Peace Corps and Vista receive pre-service training in language, culture, customs, social and political systems, and history as preparation for service in international and/or intercultural environments.

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
Private organization works to further African development and to strengthen understanding between the U.S. and Africa. Sponsors annual Conference of African and American Representatives (African government officials and members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives); African-American Dialogues (annual conferences of distinguished Africans and Americans); information programs in the U.S. at all levels. School Services Division stimulates school presentations of African information; assists major national organizations with workshops, etc.; evaluates teaching materials and develops new ones; interprets and evaluates its efforts. Educators to Africa program (open also to general public) provides teaching and travel experiences in Africa for U.S. persons. American Study in Africa program arranges experience for U.S. graduate and undergraduate students in several areas, including African studies, liberal arts, and language. African Policy Information Center gathers and disseminates information about current U.S.-African issues. International Visitor Program offers African government leaders, educators, and professionals exposure to the U.S. and broad cross-section of Americans to Africa. Educational Travel Grant program helps African educators visit the U.S. to keep in touch with current trends in their fields.

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
218 Shiffman Center
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154
Individual and institution membership corporation brings together persons with a scholarly and professional interest in Africa to provide useful services to the Africanist community and to publish and distribute appropriate scholarly and informational materials. Holds annual meeting in October or November with participants from Africa, Europe, and the U.S. Herskovits Award presented annually to author of a distinguished scholarly work on Africa. Publishes a review three times a year, a newsletter six times a year, and a quarterly.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES
Room 254, 190 West 19th Avenue
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Coordinates and sponsors activities of groups and individuals in Slavic studies. Has received grant from U.S. Office of Education, Department of HEW, for "Preparation of Materials for an Interdisciplinary Course on Eastern Europe" to include modular interdisciplinary materials covering people (including material on nationalities, origins, demography, ethnography, and language); history; geography; literature; art and music; political, economic, and social systems; law; and international relations of Eastern Europe.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR IRISH STUDIES
Janet Egleson Dunleavy, Secretary
English Department, University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201
Interdisciplinary membership association of U.S. faculty and graduate students in literature, history, sociology, political science, art, and music. Maintains liaison with similar groups in other countries. Plans sections for national and regional Modern Language Association meetings, the American Historical Association, and others. Maintains archives. Publishes a newsletter and reprint series of landmark essays in Irish studies.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF SLAVISTS
William B. Edgerton, Chairman
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures
Ballantine Hall 502, Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
Committee composed of chairman (or his/her representative) of each U.S. university department of Slavic languages and literatures that offers graduate work through Ph.D. Organizes U.S. participation in International Congresses of Slavists which meet every five years, deal with Slavic linguistics, literature, folklore, poetics, and cultural history.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR NATIONALITIES SERVICE
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018
National non-profit organization assists immigrants and other newcomers to adjust to U.S. society by familiarizing them with U.S. institutions, language, life, and citizen responsibility. Member agencies help ethnic and racial groups in quest for equality and social justice through communication and cooperation in intercultural activities. Sponsors international travel for U.S. citizens interested in ACNS ethnic studies. Publishes interpreter releases (about fifty per year), and a handbook for immigrants.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
345 East 46th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
Private non-profit federation of national scholarly organizations advances humanistic studies in all fields of learning and interrelationships among societies devoted to such studies. Provides fellowships and grants-in-aid for U.S. and foreign scholars for post-doctoral and other study and research. Encourages development of American studies programs in foreign institutions of higher education. Funds international scholarly congresses in the U.S. Supports research and planning conferences, a lecture series, and archaeological recovery. Co-sponsors International Research and Exchanges Board. Publishes newsletter eight times annually.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
One Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036
Conducts International Education Project under three-year grant from Ford Foundation. Convenes academic and government representatives on limited basis to examine (among other interests) the validity of traditional approaches to international education. Cooperates with Academy for Educational Development on World Studies Data Bank Project (see).

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON GERMANY, INC.
99 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
Private sister organization of Atlantik-Brucke, both founded to provide personal interaction between U.S. and German non-political persons for understanding of U.S.-German affairs. Sponsors conferences, seminars for U.S. armed service officers, interpersonal communication experiences for visitors in either country. Plans U.S.-Germany conference for November 1974 in Germany: attendance by invitation only. Publishes a variety of newsletters, studies.

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY
c/o Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 N. Kent Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209
Individual and institution membership organization studies English language in North America, together with other languages influencing it or influenced by it. Holds annual national meeting in conjunction with Modern Language Association convention, and regional meetings. Publishes semiannual journal, studies, newsletter; is served by a quarterly journal under agreement with Columbia University Press. Presently preparing The Dictionary of American Regional English.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Private non-profit organization dedicated to furthering communication and understanding between people of the Middle East and North Africa and those of the U.S. Provides English language and other training for students and trainees in AFME Exchange-Visitor Program to the U.S. Arranges visits of individuals or groups, particularly educators, to Middle East and North Africa. Maintains Information Services Department. Publishes quarterly report and numerous educational materials in film and print.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN LORE ASSOCIATION
912 South Arapaho Drive
Santa Ana, California 92704
Non-profit membership cultural study organization dedicated to study, interpretation, and perpetuation of the lore of the American Indian. Publishes newsletter.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN STUDY
120 Greenwich Avenue
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830
Nationwide organization founded to provide comprehensive overseas travel and study programs on foreign campuses. Sponsors Camp America which provides British and European students work as camp counselors in the U.S. during the summer. Attempts to bring student to a total experience of one country, one segment of a country, or perhaps one small area so as to study in depth and in context the cultural, historical, literary, and linguistic heritage of the people.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE LITTERATURE COMPAREE
Institute of Comparative and General Literature
Ramstraat 31, Utrecht, The Netherlands
Individual membership organization promotes interpersonal exchange of information among persons interested in study of comparative literature, organized in local societies. Affiliated with the International Federation of Modern Languages and Literatures. Holds international congress every three, four, or five years.

ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE AND RESEARCH LIBRARIES
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
See American Library Association.

ASSOCIATION POUR L'ETUDE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA TRADUCTION AUTOMATIQUE ET DE LA LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUEE (ATALA)
(Association for Automatic Language Processing)
45, Rue d'Ulm
Paris 5e, France
Membership organization studies linguistic, scientific, and technical problems of automatic translation and the coordination of individual translators' work. Encourages practical work and research. Arranges for exchange of information among similar groups. Publishes a review or bulletin and miscellaneous papers.

ATLANTIK-BRUCKE E.V.
2 Hamburg 64, Sanderskoppel 15
Germany
See American Council on Germany, Inc., its sister organization.

AUSTRIAN INSTITUTE
11 East 52nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
Cultural center offers lecture, film, discussion, and other programs about Austria, acts as clearing house in cultural relations between the U.S. and Austria. Maintains reference library of books, films, records, slides. Participates in administration of educational exchanges between the U.S. and Austria.

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES
3494-21st Street
San Francisco, California 94110
Graduate school organized into two divisions (Area Studies; Interdisciplinary and Comparative Studies) offers particularly strong programs in philosophy, psychology, and studies of South Asian languages.

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209
See American Dialect Society

CENTER FOR CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH
Western Washington State College
Bellingham, Washington 98225
Communicates the efforts of hundreds of behavioral and social scientists dedicated to cross-cultural research and to study of cultural conditioning which affects motivation, learning, attitudes, perception, etc. Publishes quarterly.

CENTER FOR CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
20 Minoca Road
Portola Valley, California 94025
Non-profit corporation sponsors interracial and intercultural communication workshops in line with teachings of humanistic psychology and Dr. Carl Rogers. Outgrowth of the Center for Studies of the Person.

CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS
680 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021
Individual and institution membership corporation with purpose of creating understanding and mutual trust among countries of the Western Hemisphere. Provides for members and the public, forums, seminars, lectures, personal contact, and a translation program. Jointly sponsors programs with universities, international organizations, and related institutions. Publishes review three times a year, and books.

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES
The State Education Department
The University of the State of New York
99 Washington Avenue
Albany, N.Y. 12210
State- and federal government-funded and privately supported office strengthens opportunities and resources for study of other areas of the world in schools, colleges, and universities of New York State, particularly in programs of teacher education. Special interests are societies and cultures of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Russia, and East Europe. Maintains staffs in the State Education Department, Albany; Foreign Area Materials Center, New York City (see); The Educational Resources Center, New Delhi, India (see). Sponsors study programs in New York State and elsewhere in the U.S. and abroad. Collaborates nationally and internationally on conferences and other activities. Publishes wide variety of publications, tapes, slides, other teaching aids.

CENTER FOR NEO-HELLENIC STUDIES
1010 West 22nd Street
Austin, Texas 78705
Non-profit organization supported by contributions, founded for advancement of knowledge concerning history and culture of modern Greece. Promotes study of modern Greek language at all levels; organizes or sponsors lectures; serves as consultant; conducts research. Provides channel of communication between and awards prizes to scholars engaged in studies of language, literature, history of literature, philosophy, other fields. Publishes books and a journal.

CHEROKEE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
Box 515
Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464
Individual and business membership organization preserves, tells about the story of the Cherokee American Indian Tribe, promotes its economic development. Presents "Trail of Tears," outdoor historic drama at Tsa-La-Gi Cultural Center with five foreign language translations sometimes provided. Cooperatively sponsors lectures and exhibits with other organizations. Operates recreated Cherokee village.

COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Speech Communication Association
Statler Hilton Hotel
New York, N.Y. 10001
Commission affiliated with Speech Communication Association.

COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC
Department of Speech
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96800
International, individual and institution membership organization studies Pacific international communication. Holds annual meeting in Pacific area. Publishes journal.

THE COMMUNICATION RESEARCH CENTER
422 Blake Hall, University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044
Combines research investigation, developmental programs, and dissemination of information useful to human communication. Primary research interests are Raising Communication Potential of the Individual; Communication Problems between Members of Different Cultures and Sub-Cultural Groups; Communication via Mass Media.

CONFERENCE ON ORIENTAL-WESTERN LITERARY RELATIONS
Box 8107, University Station
Austin, Texas 78712
Comparative Literature Group 9, a part of the Modern Language Association. Meets annually at MLA convention for reading of papers, panel discussions about national literatures, etc. Publishes quarterly LITERATURE EAST AND WEST which contains oral and performing literatures of Oriental countries with translations and comments.

CONSORTIUM OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS
Institutional membership organization of the Latin American Studies Association (see) promotes Latin American studies. Issues publications on specialized topics.

COSERV (National Council for Community Services to International Visitors) See Hospitality Committee for United Nations Delegates, Inc.; and National Council for Community Services to International Visitors.

EAST-WEST CULTURAL CENTER
2865 West 9th Street
Los Angeles, California 90006
Non-profit educational and religious organization teaches and helps integrate cultural and spiritual values of East and West, according to teachings of Sri Aurobindo. Maintains library, sells books, sponsors classes.

EDUCATIONAL FILM LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
17 West 60th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
Individual and institution membership organization serves as clearing house for information about films and other non-print media. Evaluates films, including minority productions; sponsors festivals and workshops; maintains library. Publishes magazine five times a year, and other publications.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS PROJECT
1790 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10019
Activity of the Conference on Asian Affairs, Inc., in association with the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies (see). Undertakes specific projects to develop study materials on foreign areas (currently Africa and India for secondary schools) and provides liaison with schools in the U.S. for the Educational Resources Center (see).

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER
D-53 Defense Colony
New Delhi 110024, India
Office of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies (see). Collaborates with a number of Indian institutions and organizations for international studies. Publishes occasional newsletter and miscellaneous papers.

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Privately supported organization provides a period of travel and observation in the U.S. for foreign individuals who have already demonstrated leadership achievement in their respective countries and professions. Provides interaction between fellows and their professional counterparts and others in all fields. Publishes bulletin and brochures.

ENGLISH IN ACTION
40 East 54th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
Membership organization supports work of volunteers in non-academic learning situations who spend one hour or more a week conversing with a person to whom English is a second language. Colloquialisms, idioms, customs, and other U.S. characteristics are discussed during practice speaking.

THE ENGLISH INSTITUTE, INC.
English Department, University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268
Membership organization of scholars, critics, teachers, and writers who meet annually to provide interpersonal discussion and fresh approaches to study of English and U.S. language and literature. Publishes annual volume of lectures and essays.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION OF THE UNITED STATES
16 East 69th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
Membership organization and sister organization, E-S U. of the Commonwealth, aim to develop among English-speaking peoples a universal understanding through communication based on expanded use of English as a common language. Lecturers address meetings on traditions, ideals, and culture common to English-speaking peoples. Educational department arranges exchange visits for U.S. and British teenagers, graduate students, and professionals. U.S. headquarters maintains library and Books-Across-the-Sea Program to Britain, Australia, Canada, India, and New Zealand

ESPERANTO INFORMATION
3940-47th Street
Long Island City, N.Y. 11104
Information center for national and world-wide groups which advocate ethnic equality through use of Esperanto as the international language. Publish leaflets and other materials; promote instruction and personal international correspondence in Esperanto.

ESPERANTO LEAGUE FOR NORTH AMERICA
P.O. Box 508
Burlingame, California 94010
Individual membership organization promotes use of Esperanto internationally. Sponsors classes, courses, conferences, national and international conventions. Participates in MLA annual convention. Regional groups hold weekly meetings. Publishes bimonthly newsletter and annual anthology of original Esperanto works. Distributes international Esperanto newspaper.

THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES
Prof. Dr. A.N.J. den Hollander, Director
Watteaustraat 46
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Federation of national associations holds biennial international conference for scholarly discussion of U.S.-Europe interrelationships. Publishes biennial newsletter; sponsors publication of cross-disciplinary books.

THE EUROPEAN TRANSLATIONS CENTRE
Doelenstraat 101
Delft, The Netherlands
Membership foundation operates through national centers which collect translations and information about translations for international coordination. Cooperates with International Standardization Organization in order to develop international standard for presentation of translations.

THE EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING
Private non-profit educational institution. See School for International Training.

FARMERS AND WORLD AFFAIRS, INC.
101 North 7th Street
Camden, New Jersey 08102
Non-profit educational organization cooperates with farm organizations to provide interpersonal learning for U.S. and foreign farmers through exchange programs. Sponsors conferences.

FEDERATION DES ALLIANCES FRANCAISES AUX ETATS-UNIS
22 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
Independent U.S. organization of over two hundred regional groups increases contacts and understanding between the U.S. and France. Arranges speakers, films, magazines, and books for membership groups; assists in organization of French language programs; grants scholarships; organizes tours, foreign introductions, and an annual benefit. Awards prizes at annual General Assembly.

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES PROFESSEURS DE LANGUES VIVANTES
(International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages)
Dr. Reinhold Freudenstein, Generalsekretar
Liebigstrasse 37
D-355 Marburg/Lahn, Germany
Association membership organization promotes international relations between modern language teachers; coordinates research and other efforts of its members; facilitates materials exchange; works to improve training of language teachers. Works with national and international language teachers' associations rather than with individuals. U.S. teachers may request information about it through American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 62 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Holds world conference every three years (next in 1975).

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRADUCTEURS
See American Translators Association.

FOREIGN AREA MATERIALS CENTER
11 West 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036
Office of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies (see). Prepares and distributes materials on foreign area studies, primarily at the undergraduate level. Sponsored by the Council of Intercultural Studies and Programs (see).

FOREIGN STUDENT SERVICE COUNCIL
1860-19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Private non-profit agency works to promote international understanding through educational and social programs for international students visiting and living in Washington, D.C. Arranges interpersonal experiences, seminars, an International Student Day, special event visits. Provides informational materials, speaking opportunities for students. Publishes quarterly newsletter.

FOUNDATION FOR CHANGE, INC.
1841 Broadway (60th Street)
New York, N.Y. 10023
Non-profit educational organization seeks to develop student understanding of minority views and encourages social change. Provides workshops and training for educators. Publishes and distributes multi-cultural, multi-media study materials on racism, poverty, and ethnic pride for elementary and secondary schools.

FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
1655 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60612
Non-profit organization strives to increase understanding between peoples. Arranges interpersonal experiences for family travel groups; exchanges students and teachers who are expected to have working knowledge of host country. Chapters sponsor discussions, lectures, social activities, study programs.

FRANCE-ETATS-UNIS
6, Boulevard de Grenelle
Paris 15e, France
Private membership organization aims to familiarize the French people with every phase of U.S. life through film, lectures, publications, and tours. One of founders of the Federation of European American Organizations. Publishes quarterly newspaper.

FRENCH INSTITUTE/ALLIANCE FRANCAISE DE NEW YORK
22 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
Membership organization encourages study of French language and culture. For persons in Greater New York area, conducts lectures, concerts, film and slide showings, special events. Offers group and private language classes. Awards scholarships. Maintains library. Publishes annual bibliography.

GERMAN ACADEMIC EXCHANGE SERVICE
1 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10003
Offers grants in all fields for research and study at German institutions of higher learning.

GERMAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, INC.
Ralph Scott, First Vice-President
1515 Columbia Drive
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613
Membership organization (any American of German extraction or one married to such an American), chapters of which present German cultural events. Encourages travel, sponsors German-language radio programs, provides German-language schools, develops youth programs. Publishes monthly journal.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
830 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
Membership organization of U.S. girls of all races, minority groups, affiliated with World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. Provides confrontation-type experience in human relations while girls learn ideals of character, conduct, patriotism, and service of U.S. citizenship. Cooperates in planning programs with wide range of ethnic, religious groups. Arranges international conferences and exchanges. Issues variety of publications.

THE HOSPITALITY AND INFORMATION SERVICE FOR DIPLOMATIC RESIDENTS AND FAMILIES (THIS)
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Private, voluntary service of the Meridian House Foundation (see). Assists foreign diplomatic families in adjusting to Washington, D.C., and the U.S. through tours, English conversation groups and language classes, cultural activities, home visits. Publishes guide booklets and miscellaneous papers.

HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE FOR UNITED NATIONS DELEGATIONS, INC.
Room 202 Secretariat Building
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017
Volunteer organization provides interpersonal experiences, services, tours, language classes, entertainment, and information to U.N. delegates and their wives. Arranges scholarships for delegate families. Member of national organization called COSERV (see) with headquarters in Washington, D.C., and member organizations in other communities.

HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH ORGANIZATION
300 North Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
Non-profit corporation conducts research in field of training and education: continuation of the George Washington University Human Resources Research Office. Aims to improve human performance, particularly in organizational settings, through behavioral and social science research, development, and consultation. Conducts research in fields of training, motivation, and leadership.

THE INFORMATION CENTER ON CHILDREN'S CULTURES

331 East 38th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

Non-profit, non-governmental organization, service of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, committed to programs of fund-raising and to education and information which relate to cross-cultural communication. Operates reference center, School Services program. Develops and distributes materials and services, participates in meetings and workshops where direct and indirect participation in the teaching of intercultural concepts is encouraged.

INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

27, Place de l'Universite
13625 Aix-en-Provence, France

Non-profit educational organization under auspices of University of Aix-Marseille; center for overseas study for over four hundred U.S. colleges and universities. In English and French offers instruction in British and French languages and European culture and civilization. Sponsors classes in Kent, England; Aix and Avignon, France. Focuses on student adaptation to other civilizations. Publishes annual review, a yearbook, and literary magazine.

THE INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

875 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Private, non-profit educational institution provides U.S. students with the possibility for a structured, critical examination of a foreign culture through extended contacts with Europeans in daily living situations in Vienna, Paris, Freiburg, Madrid, Nantes, London, and Durham, England. Awards scholarships and assistantships. Arranges Stateside orientation against culture shock for participants. Publishes variety of bulletins, reports.

INSTITUTO CULTURAL TENOCHTITLAN, INC.

P.O. Box 55011
Seattle, Washington 98155

Private, bi-cultural, educational institution arranges study in Mexico with U.S. and Mexican professors. Encourages residence with host families for participation in daily language and lifestyle of Mexico. Campuses in Mexico City and Mazatlan, a craft village near Morelia, Mayan studies on Yucatan Peninsula. Publishes variety of brochures, catalogues.

INSTITUTO INTERNACIONAL DE LITERATURA IBEROAMERICANA

657 A.I.R. Building, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

Worldwide membership organization promotes study of Iberoamerican literature, increases cultural relations between peoples of the Americas, coordinates linguistic and literary investigations, creates chairs of Iberoamerican literature in the U.S. and of U.S. literature in Latin American countries. Publishes original works and translations of principal Iberoamerican authors and REVISTA IBEROAMERICANA.

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION
141 N.E. Third Avenue, Suite 503
Miami, Florida 33132
Membership organization of Western Hemisphere publications. Promotes interchanges among journalists of the Americas. Awards exchange scholarships to students of journalism.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK OF THE REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
4401 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
Promotes among individuals, organizations, and academic institutions the development of educational, training, and research programs on human relations, especially as they relate to professional activity in the field of foreign student affairs. Sponsors and assists regional and national conferences. Serves as headquarters organization for Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (see). Publishes bi-monthly newsletter, annual volume of readings, and occasional papers.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS FOR TECHNICAL EXPERIENCE/UNITED STATES
American City Building, Suite 217
Columbia, Maryland 21044
Membership organization with reciprocal exchange program which provides international practical training experience for English-speaking students in forty-one countries, in all areas of engineering, architecture, agriculture, and the sciences. Provides interpersonal experiences for students in their host environments.

THE INTERNATIONAL CENTER IN NEW YORK, INC.
745 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019
Private individual and family membership organization provides programs and services to government and privately sponsored visitors to New York. Services include conversational English assistance, home-hospitality with U.S. families, tours, and social events. Sponsors cross-cultural communication workshops, counseling, orientation programs for newly arrived, and other forms of specific training and assistance for living in New York.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN YOUTH EXCHANGE
55 Liberty Street, Room 1306
New York, N.Y. 10005
Member organization of International Council for ICYE. Arranges international exchange visits around world for Christian and non-Christian youth who share life and culture of another country for a year in secondary school, higher academic, and non-academic programs.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION
School of Communication
University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78700
International professional, individual, and association membership organization promotes studies and practice of all forms of communication. Divisions of specialized study include Intercultural Communication. Holds annual national convention in April and annual student conference during summer. Publishes journals and a newsletter.

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ICYE
P.O. Box 66
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland
See International Christian Youth Exchange.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS
See American Library Association

INTERNATIONAL FILM BUREAU, INC.
332 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60604
Produces and distributes films, including those for classroom foreign language teaching.

INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION
Professor Diana L. Kao, Secretary
Goethal 109, The City College of New York
Convent Avenue at 138th Street
New York, N.Y. 10031
Individual membership organization promotes linguistic studies. Holds monthly meetings in New York City and an annual conference. Publishes a journal three times a year and occasional supplements.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE STUDY OF GROUP TENSIONS
10 West 66th Street
Suite 6D
New York, N.Y. 10023
Studies inter-community tensions on national and international scales. Education Committee is working to improve cross-cultural communication in New York City schools. Middle East Committee is planning conference for study of cross-cultural social and political problems of the Middle East. Publishes journal with some communication studies.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION
University College
Gower Street
London WCIE 6BT, England
Membership society of persons interested in the science of phonetics. Certifies phoneticians. Publishes handbook and a biennial journal with articles dealing with phonetics and its application, specimens of various languages in phonetic transcription.

THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D.C.
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 308
Washington, D.C. 20036
Organization operates language school; arranges lectures, exhibits, discussions, personal exchanges, and fellowship grants. Publishes monthly bulletin.

JAPAN SOCIETY, INC.
333 East 47th Street
New York, N.Y 10017
Individual and corporation membership organization devoted to international business communication through exchanges, meetings, and joint studies. Offers classes in Japanese and English languages and other cultural subjects. Maintains library. Publishes monthly newsletter, books, a bibliography.

THE KOSCIUSZKO FOUNDATION
15 East 65th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
Private educational institution, U.S. center for Polish culture, promotes growth of Polish studies in the U.S., better knowledge of their Polish heritage among U.S. citizens of Polish descent. Arranges student exchanges, awards scholarships, arranges lectures and cultural programs. Publishes monthly newsletter.

LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE
575 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011
Organization of branches which cooperate in arranging cultural exchanges between the U.S. and Israel, encourages interpersonal communication between various levels of leadership. Conducts seminars, exhibits. Publishes a program packet and newsletter.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
Box 13362, University Station
Gainesville, Florida 32604
Charitable and educational society of individuals and institutions provides a forum and an instrumentality for treating common interests of disciplines and scholars concerned with Latin American studies. Committees include those on the teaching of Latin American studies at all levels and the Consortium of Latin American Studies Program (see). Publishes a review three times a year, a quarterly newsletter, and special publications.

THE LEAGUE OF FINNISH-AMERICAN SOCIETIES
Mechelininkatu 10A
00100 Helsinki 10, Finland
Individual and chapter membership organization strives to increase knowledge of Finland in the U.S. and of the U.S. in Finland. Handles scholarship and trainee exchange programs, instruction and testing in the English language, exhibitions, lectures, other cultural events, and the promotion of travel between Finland and the U.S.

THE LISLE FELLOWSHIP, INC.
511 Meadow Hall Drive
Rockville, Maryland 20851
Membership association for educational purposes. Programs provide for cooperative living with an intercultural group of young adults (20-35 years) at a program center in the U.S., Europe, Latin America, or Russia. Emphasizes experimental learning in leadership; intercultural relationships; cooperative living, study, and discussion. Publishes newsletter and other materials.

LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383
Agency supported by donation, independent of official Lutheran Church, sponsors Christian ministry, especially to interracial, intercultural, international groups. Fills informative, interpretative, resource role for persons in interpersonal, interactive state of community-building. Sponsors Mother-to-Mother Ministry to unite persons living apart emotionally and geographically. Publishes newsletter ten months a year.

THE MAX WEINREICH CENTER FOR ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES
1048 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028
See YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

THE MERIDIAN HOUSE FOUNDATION
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Non-profit cultural and educational organization operates Meridian House, home of Washington International Center. Dedicated to the concept of partnership of private enterprise with government, service organizations, and volunteer groups to promote community-wide approach to welcoming and serving foreign visitors to the U.S. Provides financial and administrative support for International Visitors Service Council (see) and The Hospitality and Information Service for Diplomatic Residents and Families (see). Serves as headquarters for The National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (see).

THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE
1761 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Non-governmental individual and corporation membership organization designed to stimulate interest and knowledge of the Middle East. Arranges study programs of panels, lectures, seminars, conferences, and classes. Distributes educational films. Maintains library. Provides briefings for U.S. and Middle East exchange scholars and visitors. Publishes journal, semimonthly news report, books.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF EDUCATION
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Carnegie Corporation of New York-supported organization with regular membership of fifty scholars of interdisciplinary interests who work in four fields of research, including the Psychology of Education. Holds semiannual meetings. Sponsors postdoctoral programs and study and advisory committees. Has published three books.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20418
Organization arranges exchange visits between scientists (including behavioral) of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Encourages direct contacts between institutions and scientists.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR FOREIGN STUDENT AFFAIRS
1860-19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Professional individual and institutional membership organization develops knowledge and competence of persons concerned with international education (foreign student advisors, teachers of English as second language, foreign or U.S. students interested in international exchange program, etc.). Conducts year-round program of professional service and training at national and regional levels through conferences, workshops, broad range of special services. Awards travel grants. Field Service Program includes exploration of new intercultural communication methods. Publishes monthly newsletter, a directory, and other materials.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Professional membership association concerned with the use of communication technology for educational and social purposes. Arranges conventions, conferences, and specialized opportunities for professional exchange of ideas and information. Sponsors research and development work. Plans international travel and learning experiences. Publishes bimonthly journal, a newsletter, a directory, and miscellaneous bulletins.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS, INC.
777 United Nations Plaza, 9B
New York, N.Y. 10017
Membership (by invitation) educational organization pledged to increasing public knowledge of China. Arranges seminars, conferences, symposia, meetings, TV programming, special studies. Distributes educational materials to schools, media, etc. Directs attention to practical education for groups that will have personal contacts with China: worked with U.S. Table Tennis Association and works toward facilitating additional educational and cultural exchanges. Publishes quarterly newsletter.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH IN ENGLISH

Temple University College of Education
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122
International professional membership (by invitation) organization stimulates research in teaching of English language arts at all educational levels. Publishes research reports.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES TO INTERNATIONAL VISITORS (COSERV)

1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Council of local and national non-governmental organizations share concern for short-term foreign visitor to the U.S. Serves as policy-making and service center for organizations and individuals providing specific services to foreign visitors. Coordinates conferences, referrals, publications, and field trips. Headquarters at Meridian House (see).

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Former name of Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs (see).

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

1111 Kenyon Road
Urbana, Illinois 61801
Professional organization arranges exchanges of persons and materials at government and personal levels for international and intercultural learning. Encourages research, publishes reports on intercultural study projects.

NATIONAL DRUG ABUSE TRAINING CENTER

1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209
Research and training center managed by Manpower and Training Branch of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. Sponsors programs, courses of study focused on intercultural drug-abuse worker/client interface, designed to develop knowledge, awareness, and skills in intercultural communication.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

806-15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506
Section of National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. Congress-created organization helps teachers, students, scholars develop and maintain the humanities, including languages and linguistics, as sources of insight into human problems. Supports education program, public programs, research, fellowships, stipends, and projects by young people.

REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1101 Bruce Hall, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
Institution membership organization promotes international education within member colleges and universities of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

ST. DAVID'S SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
71 West 23rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10010
Membership benevolent society for North American citizens of Welsh descent. Sponsors musical activities and encourages all forms of Welsh culture. Holds annual banquet and quarterly meetings.

SALZBURG SEMINAR IN AMERICAN STUDIES
17 Dunster Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
Independent privately-financed corporation provides shared practical and academic study between persons of all countries. Holds three-to-four week seminars for interpersonal exchange of information and opinion on pre-announced topics (some having to do with communication). Maintains English-language library. Publishes annual report, brochures.

SCHOOL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING
Kipling Road
Brattleboro, Vermont 05301
Academic arm of the Experiment in International Living prepares people for work, study, life, and travel in a culture other than their own. Offers pre-departure and arrival orientations in language training and cross-cultural orientation to high school and college students, teachers,. Offers U.S. degrees in languages, international administration, B.A. in international studies. Provides international visitors to the U.S. with language and culture orientation, interpersonal experiences in family settings. Places teachers in elementary and secondary schools.

SINO-AMERICAN CULTURAL SOCIETY, INC.
2311 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Organization focus is cultural exchanges between the U.S. and the Republic of China. Sponsors or co-sponsors dinner meetings and cultural programs. Awards grants to Taipei university students.

SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA
Joseph Pauco, Secretary
313 Ridge Avenue
Middletown, Pennsylvania 17057
Membership organization of Americans of Slovak descent. Promotes consciousness of Slovak language and culture in the U.S. through publications, scholarship program, cultural exhibits, and activities. Convention planned for Detroit, May 1975. Publishes annual, other materials. Has published five-volume history of Slovaks in America.

SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY
James E. Cathey, Secretary-Treasurer
Germanic Languages, Herter Hall
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
Individual membership association promotes Scandinavian (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden) study and instruction in the U.S. Encourages original research in the U.S. in Scandinavian language, literature, history, government, and society. Holds meetings. Publishes a quarterly of research results, an annual bibliography and index.

SOCIETY FOR THE ARTS, RELIGION, AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURE, INC.
35 East 72nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
Multi-disciplinary professional membership society brings persons of diverse professional backgrounds together to consider basic issues of human conflict and community. Offers variety of programs from intimate conversational gatherings to public presentations for consideration of values of contemporary cultures. Publishes newsletter, other materials.

SOCIETY FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH
The Intercultural Communications Network
4401 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213
Individual and institution membership organization promotes education and training, professional development, research and exchange of information in areas of international and intercultural communication. Sponsors conferences, workshops, other meetings. Serves as clearing house for teaching and research ideas, projects, grants. Publishes newsletter and miscellaneous papers.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES
31-34 Gordon Square
London, Wc1H oPP, England
Individual membership organization advances study of Greek language, literature, history, and art. Co-maintains library of books and slides. Holds four meetings a year in London, plus regional meetings. Publishes annual journal and an archeological report.

SOCIETY FOR SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE HISTORICAL STUDIES
Prof. N. Weissen, Secretary General
Department of History
City College of New York
New York, N.Y. 10000
Organization encourages comparative interdiscipinary research in Iberian history and culture. Holds annual conference in April. Publishes newsletter.

UNITED STATES SERVAS COMMITTEE, INC.
P.O. Box 790
Old Chelsea Station P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10011
International membership cooperative system of hosts and travellers provides interpersonal experience for travellers all over world. Name is Esperanto for "serve." Travellers share conversation and home life with host country families rather than patronizing commercial establishments. Promote transcultural exchange with Americans-to-Americans program.

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
13 Arcadia Road
Old Greenwich, Connecticut 06870
Non-governmental organization sponsors exchanges of professional leaders under several work and study arrangements. Holds symposia, conferences, regional meetings for interpersonal discussion of topics important to both countries.

UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
1221 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Public membership foundation promotes young people's involvement in democratic institutions worldwide. Arranges youth exchanges for cultural orientation programs. Conducts bi- and multi-national conferences and seminars for interpersonal discussion of youth-focused topics, including aspects of communication.

UNIVERSALA ESPERANTO-ASOCIO
Nieuwe Binnenweg 176
Rotterdam 3002, The Netherlands
Organization directs international study projects and visits at governmental and personal levels for study of Esperanto.

VISTA
See Action.
Volunteers receive three-to-five weeks pre-service and/or on-site training as background needed for assignments in distinctive cultural situations (inner city, migrant labor camp, Indian reservation). Emphasizes adaptation to poverty situation.

VOICESPONDENCE CLUB
P.O. Box 207
Shillington, Pennsylvania 19607
Membership organization arranges international conversational exchanges on recorded tape reels and cassettes. Publishes annual directory and supplements, a quarterly magazine.

THE WASHINGTON INTERNATIONAL CENTER
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Largest program conducted by The Meridian House Foundation (see). Volunteer and professional staff members provide introduction for foreign visitors to U.S. life and institutions through seminars, tours, films and home hospitality.

THE WENNER-GREN FOUNDATION FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH, INC.
14 East 71st Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
Non-profit foundation awards grants for research in all branches of anthropology and related disciplines which pertain to problems in which science of man is concerned, including cross-cultural and linguistic research. Initiates and supports conferences in Europe and elsewhere. Supports monograph series, international journal, and varied educational efforts. Publishes annual report, other materials.

WOMEN'S AFRICA COMMITTEE
African-American Institute
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
Private interracial organization promotes social, educational, economic advancement of African women and improved relations between African and U.S. women through interpersonal experiences in New York City. Sponsors lectures, social program. Publishes brochures.

WORLD INSTITUTE COUNCIL
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
Non-profit research and educational institution serves national and international public through counsel, research, and publication concerning problems of mankind. Works toward man's understanding of field theory concepts which will give him new level of awareness necessary for successful life under conditions of change.

WORLD STUDIES DATA BANK
Academy for Educational Development
437 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
Government-supported, largest centralized source of information on international programs of U.S. colleges and universities. Operated by Academy for Educational Development and the American Council on Education (see). Sponsors seminars. Distributes quarterly newsletter. Publishes directories and survey reports.

WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE, INC.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018
International university-student mutual self-help agency sponsors lectures, classroom discussions, seminars in a broad area of intercultural activities, among which is intercultural and international communication. Does not sponsor meetings but participates at cross-cultural gatherings.

YALE-IN-CHINA ASSOCIATION
905A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520
Non-profit organization promotes and awards grants for Asian study programs and student exchanges. Sponsors Chinese cultural programs and lectures in New Haven. Publishes annual report.

YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH
1048 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028
Scholarly research institution devoted to inquiry and education on Jewish topics, including sociological and linguistic. Parent organization for the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies which offers study programs and promotes research in areas of U.S. and Eastern European Jewish life and culture. Publishes bulletins, a quarterly, and other materials.

Readers are encouraged to add information, make corrections, or supply additional contacts to the Assistant Editor at California State College, California, Pennsylvania, 15419. Your comments indicating usefulness of this directory or suggestions for its improvement will be welcomed. Reports or evaluations of national and international meetings as well as organizations will be considered for inclusion in the ANNUAL.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIES FOR CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE IS AND THE OUGHT–TO–BE

A Special Committee JOINT PROJECT for
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION
INTERCULTURAL DIVISION (V) and
SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL COMMISSION

The following is an outline resulting from cooperative efforts by John Bystrom and Fred L. Casmir representing SCA, and Edward C. Stewart and V. Lynn Tyler representing ICA. It is not presented as a finished product, but rather in the hope that readers of the ANNUAL will accept an invitation to react to its content, provide additional insights, suggestions, corrections, or any other help which may further this project.

I. BRIEF of BASIC ASSUMPTIONS, CENTRAL ISSUES, and GENERAL PREMISES

A. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS: Intercultural communications is an adaptative interactive process conceptualized through the subjective cultures of persons and making use of various systems: social, political, technological, psychological, religious, aesthetic, and philosophic.

B. CENTRAL ISSUES:

1. Individual integrity and diversity is essential for communication in a world where cultural diversity is a natural phenomenon.
2. Cultural diversity, which in and of itself serves many purposes, should be safeguarded through continuously improving intercultural communication.
3. Intercultural communication is not dependent upon imposed or enforced equalization or synonymity.
4. There is an urgent need for an examination of intercultural communications resources and methodologies throughout the world.
5. The proposed systematic and descriptive study of communication needs involves cultural assessment of individuals and societies and their needs – in process and content, particularly as this is affective.

C. GENERAL PREMISES:

1. Intercultural communication involves different subjective cultures, with similarities being the basis for common human understanding through communication.
2. Communicative processes, including the intercultural, can be analyzed, studied, and modified.

3. The concept of human (intercultural) communication is heuristic; i.e. it avoids undue specialization while providing for the broadest possible base for the study of man and his behavior.

II. EXTENDED DIMENSIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS -- A basis for reserach, training, and use.

A. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS:

1. Intercultural communication can and does take place, in varying degrees of effectiveness proportional to

   a. The similarity of experimental backgrounds of the communicators.

   b. The efficiency of the methods of communication, and

   c. The circumstances which influence the communication.

2. Individual communications are unique, varying from all others. Despite the uniqueness, there are definable universals on the basis of which individuals act, react, and communicate. The combinations and permutations of the universals are different for each individual and each communication.

3. It is possible to perceive, determine, and promote effective communication on the basis of cultural universals which are the cumulative results of interactions of individuals. The "why and how" of the concepts and methods can be learned and used.

4. Researchers overextending the technical use of the term "intercultural" risk dispersing the research in a way that delimites the opportunity of making integrated contributions. Practical and specific focus is required when faced with tremendous numbers of challenges.

5. Identifiable homogeneous units of cultures have integrity even in their diversity and overlap with other cultural units to some degree. (Compare: families, tribes, clans, races, languages, geographic: urban/rural/etc., social classes and roles, economic classes and life styles, occupational and educational groupings and values, political affiliations, religious and ethical values and mores, etc.)

6. Communication is considered to be an adjunct to man and his agency rather than vice-versa.

   a. There are practical rights of communication, prescribed by needs. (NOTE: An SCA commission is working on implementing this principle. See United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, and (still in process) Declaration of Communication RIGHTS of Mankind. Ref. Harms, L.S. text Intercultural Communications. Harper and Row. 1973.)

b. The right NOT to communicate or to receive intended communication is here noted. Acceptance, modification, or rejection of any communication depends on individual affect and experiences, which varies from culture to culture.

B. CENTRAL ISSUES: (Continued or extended)

6. The "induced melting pot" concept has not been shown to be valid as comprehensive theorem for developing holistic communication.

7. Demonstration of how cultural inter-dependence contributes to world understanding is often culture-bound philosophy which is difficult to put into focus, especially by those who are aggressive by nature.

8. Increased knowledge through more effective communication may increase cultural stability as a net result of the development of cultural imagination; but this cannot be consistently assumed to be probable because of other delimiting factors: economic, political, environmental, educational, etc.

9. The diffusion of intercultural data may bring about homogeneity or heterogeneity, depending upon cultural acceptance, modification, or rejection or innovative ideas.

10. It is presumed that intercultural communications distinctions can be recognized and validated, with mixes of theory, affect, and experience coded or codable somewhere on a continuum from reality through assumptions. A main concern is that of focus and selectivity in that intercultural communication includes potentially all knowledge which bears not only on communication but also on man, his psychological, cultural, social, and biological characteristics and related differences. Of all the potentially relevant data, relatively little is actually timely and useful. This creates a serious dilema with easy solutions not yet adequately defined or implemented.

C. GENERAL PREMISES: (Continued or extended)

4. A considerable gap presently exists between

a. Intellectually appealing communications theories and course outlines which attempt to "cover the field," and

b. Focus which provides for workable solutions and uses.

5. Cultural differences are often dealt with by communicators as:

   a. Obstacles to interaction; and/or

   b. Indifferent factors which are controlled or overshadowed by technically or socio-economic determinants; and/or

   c. RESOURCES for effective human development, especially through controlled exchange of perceptions, feelings, and assumptions.

6. Cultural challenges and problems should be seen as dynamic, on-going processes as well as content. Allowances should be made and realistic alternatives provided for spontaneous development, with unlimited selection possibilities and freedom given to remain creatively "open."

   a. Process and content vary interculturally, interethnically, internationally, and interracially on the basis of the depths and scope of each culture considered separately or with others.

   b. Simplistic assumptions that people behave and communicate only on the basis of old experience has been shown to be invalid. Therefore, education is necessary to validate new experiences so that they may be most widely appreciated and used when felt to be profitable.

7. "Communication" for much of the world primarily means mass communication. Much more can and should be perceived. The expanding availability of newly developed and significant aids for intercultural, intra/personal, and various sized group communications modes can be made known and shared.

   This perspective assumes that knowledge can be conveyed successfully between cultural borders with certain intrinsic values being needed or desirable from the interchange.

8. Cultural and communications diversity can be over-sold as principles if extremes result in undesirable difficulties. (Compare, for example, the situational complexities of such countries as India, the Philippines, and other developing cultural areas and their systems for communication. This is illustrative rather than adversely judgmental.)

9. Values, assumptions, and attitudes generally are affective; and as such they are difficult to communicate because of strong emotive content. If overt change is demanded, expected, or even implied, built-in rejection or forceful modification may be the result. Cautions:

   a. Whether new knowledge and experience leads to empathy, then sympathy (or vice-versa), and finally to improved intercultural communication and human relations –– this is yet to be fully determined, especially when considering the many other factors possibly beyond the scope of current communications principles.

b. Intercultural communicative contact may be positive or negative, or some degree between, depending on conditions:

  1) Unfavorable change often accrues from:

    a) That which is culturally involuntary or unpleasant.

    b) Undesirable competition.

    c) Challenged prestige.

    d) Violation of cultural mores, moral or ethical standards.

  2) Favorable change often transpires if:

    a) Communicators can and do assume status recognition acceptable to all concerned.

    b) The social climate is favorable and, as appropriate, intimate.

    c) Functional activities develop mutually acceptably goals and rewards which are obtained with a minimum of frustation.

c. Descriptive studies of communication needs vary in different cultures. What is affective in one culture may be cognitive in another, and vice-versa. All dimensions need consideration in some thematic perspective, especially when highly affective.

d. In many acts of perception, we attribute meaning to stimuli having nothing to do with external reality which involves behavior. Yet, communication occurs within ourselves when we attribute meaning to behavior or circumstances, by what we recognize as perceptive processes.

10. Learning, or even "unlearning" (modifying knowledge) about others often clarifies self-knowledge — which, if positive, can lead to a mutual tolerance that is essential in pluralistic societies.

11. If future cultures and communications will be quite different, as it is assumed they will be, from the present, and if human survival depends upon adjustment to the now unknowable, then skills should be developed through focus on rehearsed adaptation to cultures different from ones' own, with special developments being devised in communicative processes.

12. The forces of technology tend to reduce cultural diversity and to enforce equalization, even when this may be seemingly undesirable. (Compare radio and

television programming and international results.) Also, what brings growth and stability to one culture may bring decline and instability to another.

13. Language and communication make some measure of desirable stability possible, while change and diversification continually take place.

14. Studies in organizational and other authoritative requirements should be an integral segment of intercultural communication research.

III. GOALS and PRIORITIES -- Research foundations, theory development, and world-wide practitioner training. (Priority rank to be determined!)

A. FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH:

1. Extensive, detailed, interdisciplinary review of existing literature, theories, models relating to culture and human communication -- this is required from education, business, industry, government, anthropology, sociology, psychology, etc.

a. Intrapersonal communication	With direct applications to the "intercultural" in extended sense.
b. Interpersonal communication	
c. Mass communication	

2. Extensive interaction is needed between "practitioners" and "theorists" in intercultural and international communication.

3. Interdisciplinary cooperation, research, etc. is to be developed in order to maximize the use of available resources, human and other, in the United States and internationally.

   a. Begin with existing organizations: ICA, SCA, APA, AAAS, etc.

   b. Provide for regular exchange of information with key personnel.

   c. Involve industry, business, government, religious groups, etc.

4. The concept of human communication rights, including the right not to communicate, is to be developed and adequately stated.

Recommended READING: Stewart, Edward C. OUTLINE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, BCIU, The American University. Winter, 1973. Also appears in Readings in Intercultural Communication. The Intercultural Communications Network of The Regional Council for International Education: David S. Hoopes, editor. 1973.

- a. Cultural diversity should be safeguarded.
    - 1) Individual and societal needs to be emphasized.
    - 2) Communication is to be seen as a tool for man's needs rather than an end in itself.
    - 3) Sources and resources are to be developed for mass, group, and interpersonal needs for various individuals and cultures.
- b. Diversity cannot be seen as a communicative end in itself.
    - 1) Various positive forces are to contribute to similarities: political, technological, etc.
    - 2) Language in communication is to be used as a stabilizing, equalizing factor in all cultural development needs considered.

B. THEORY DEVELOPMENT:

- 1. Relatively simple heuristic and holistic models are needed.
- 2. Communication is to be seen as a world discipline:
    - a. Related to industrial and non-industrial societies.
    - b. All cultures to share communications learning insights.
    - c. No communicative process is "primitive" and is not to be "improved" according to some overriding cultural pattern not useful to the given society(s).
    - d. A major purpose of communication is adaptation and control of the environment in which Man finds himself. Intercultural and international communication models should assist in the achievement of this and other useful purposes.
    - e. Cultures have communications biases which are to be "accepted" as they serve the purposes cited above.
    - f. Varied or monolithic structures of communication are to be considered on the basis of the needs of a given society, and of societies as these interrelate.
- 3. The systematic and descriptive study of communication is to be carried out both on the level of the individual and of the needs of society.
    - a. Needs of content.

b. Needs of process.

c. Study of organizations and of other structures.

C. TRAINING PRACTITIONERS WORLD-WIDE:

1. Development of international and intercultural cooperation and training is to make use of existing organizations and centers as this is feasible.

2. Linkage is to be made of language and cultural training.

3. Training is to be provided for business and industrial personnel as well as for those in religious, academic, and other pursuits.

4. Substructures dealing with intercultural communications are to be developed within existing organizations, where possible, making informative exchanges and cooperation possible.

5. International [illegible]ld-wide publications development is needed.

6. Existing resources are to be cataloged on a world-wide basis.

7. A viable retrieval system is to be developed.

8. Evaluations of trainers are needed for their use and the use of those who are responsible for them.

9. Instruments are needed for the evaluation of training effects.

10. More effective use is needed in applying data from accessible cultural milieus as contexts for research, training, and practical use.

11. A general world-wide awareness of intercultural communications needs, resources, and objectives is to be developed.

IV. REFERENCES and RESOURCES

GOAL: To promote that identification and insure the availability of all significant standard and "fugitive" (non-published or little known) materials and resources (people, institutions, programs, media: films, recordings, etc.) concerned with the premises, goals, and priorities of Intercultural Communications — especially as these can aid those interested and/or engaged in this new and developing field.

A. Standard Materials and Resources: The committee considered a number of bibliographies and resource lists: ERIC, GALE, SSCI, Smithsonian SIE, Communique/SITAR, UNESCO, etc. An extended bibliography is expected from George Renwick and Marshall Singer (U/Pittsburgh), considering both standard and some fugitive materials. Michael H. Prosser and Fred L. Casmir and others have prepared annotated reference lists. (These and others are cited in a 25-page listing available at cost from V. Lynn Tyler, BYU.)

The committee was more concerned with the "fugitive" than the standard references and resources but recognize that what is standard to some might be "fugitive" to others.

B. "Fugitive" and other Materials and Resources: The committee recommends: Contact with existing retrieval and storage systems to determine how they can fit our standards (listed below) and avoid the unnecessary establishment of some new retrieval system. Standards:

1. Solicitation and acquiring of significant Intercultural Communications references and resource lists.
2. Reproduction of "fugitive" materials in standard form that can be used by people world-wide.
3. (Consider: Translated materials available, and the possible translation of most significant and needed materials in languages not accessible to the majority of potential users.)
4. Adequate identification and cataloging (including simplified annotation and coding) of such materials for all user requirements.
5. Ready-access world-wide availability of information cerning the available materials and resources.
6. Efficient and minimal-cost distribution –– subsidized as essential for people in developing areas, and students, who might not otherwise be able to afford such aids.
7. REQUIREMENTS: (Setting standards for what is "significant/needed")
    a. Funding (foundations, governmental, etc.)
    b. Time
    c. Expertise –– "willing hands and minds"

NOTE: A cooperative effort is the SCA Project: "Who's WHO in Intercultural Communications" Committee: Nemi Jain, LaRay Barna; David Hoopes, consultant; Fred Casmir and others as resources.

V. CRITERIA TESTS (Evaluating/developing these strategies)

What SPECIFICALLY is wrong/obscure or too negative/or/positive; and

What SPECIFICALLY should be added, deleted, or modified?